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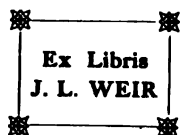
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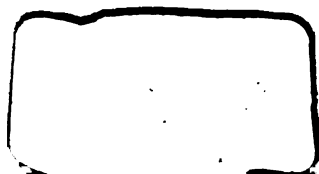


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BRITANNIA ANTIQUA.

BRITANNIA ANTICUA.

OR

ANCIENT BRITAIN

BROUGHT WITHIN THE

Limits of Authentic History.

BY

BEALE POSTE,

AUTHOR OF THE "BRITANNIC RESEARCHES", AND OF THE "GOING OF CUNOBELINE
AND OF THE ANCIENT BRITONS."

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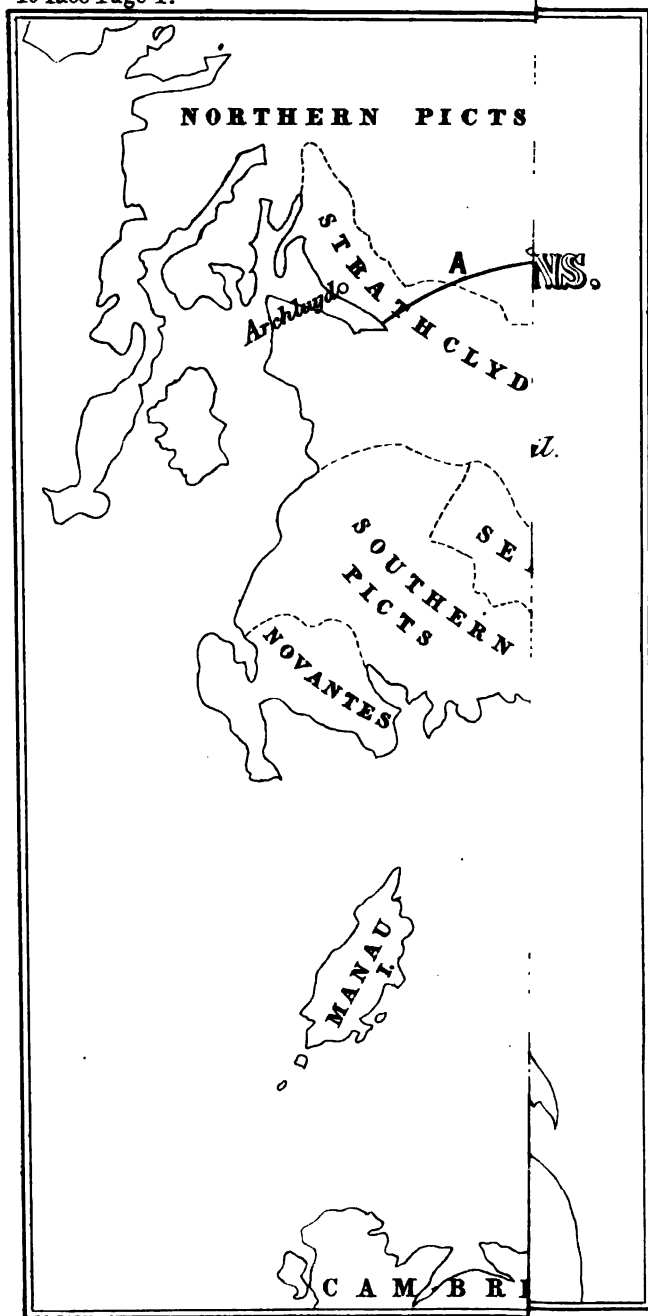
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CHAPTER I.

ASSER, ETC.



To face Page 1.



Ashbee & Dangerfield, 22 Bedford St. Covent Garden.

BRITANNIA ANTICUA.

CHAPTER I.

THE AUTHENTICITY ASSERTED OF THE HISTORICAL WORKS
OF ASSER, GILDAS AND NENNIUS, AND OF THE ANCIENT
BARDIC POEMS OF BRITAIN: TOGETHER WITH REMARKS ON
THE ANCIENT BRITISH TRIADS AS MATERIALS FOR HISTORY.

It might seem almost superfluous to vindicate the genuineness of the works of the three historians whose names are mentioned as above, and who, for ages past, have held their position, and received such share of attention, as the barbarousness of their age might seem to warrant; and, imperfect recorders as they are of the times they have selected to illustrate, much light, indeed, do they throw on a lengthened series of events, which, without their aid, would be involved in the darkest obscurity. Yet, as one modern writer of reputation has considered their works as little better than forgeries, and as unworthy of being used as authorities in history, and has repeatedly brought the subject forward, it may be as well to canvass the question; in order either to receive the evidence supplied by them, if worthy of credit, or to repudiate it if spurious. Mr. Wright, the gentleman alluded to, cannot be justly displeased with a fair discussion of their authenticity and genuineness: more especially as he must be sensible that we are only supporting the opinion of the majority of historical readers, with whom these ancient writers have hitherto passed current. In executing our task we shall have to controvert a series of objections which, be it understood, if substantiated, would tend to subvert, not only the earlier

secular histories of our island, but the earlier church histories as well.

It may excite surprise, that a writer of undoubted talent, learning, and extensive acquirements, as the one on whom we now animadvert, should place himself in so untenable a position ; but the opinions, it is believed, were adopted in the earlier part of his literary career, and not duly reconsidered since. However, under whatsoever circumstances the said views may have been formed, there is no question but that the cause of historical literature is much indebted to Mr. Wright, for bringing forward his objections on the said authors in a tangible shape, and collecting them, as it were, in one focus.

The best way of treating our subject is to state the objections against our three early historians *seriatim*, and to show that they are wholly void of any due basis : the consequence of which will be, the fully and completely evincing the genuineness of these three ancient writers, and the restoring them to their proper position as recorders of events in their own respective eras.

As far, then, as Asser is concerned, the attack first appeared in vol. xxix. of the *Archæologia*, for 1842, pp. 192-201 ; afterwards in Mr. Wright's *Biographia Britannica Literaria*, 8vo., 1842, vol. i. pp. 405-413. We will state the objections accordingly in due order, as they appear in the last mentioned work, and afterwards endeavour, as briefly as possible, to make their entire futility clear and manifest.

OBJECTIONS *as in the Biographia Britannica Literaria, there alleged to show that the Life of Alfred by Asser, bishop of Sherborne, is spurious.*

Obj. 1.—The uncertainty of the identification of the presumed author of the *Life of Alfred*. For whereas Alfred, in the preface to his *Pastorale*, addresses a certain ecclesiastic as “Asser, my bishop”, that person must have been an English bishop, from the mode of address employed ; but no Asser, an English bishop, is mentioned in that age, except Asser, bishop of Sherborne ; and Alfred, in the same preface, addresses another person, named Wulfsgie, as the bishop of Sherborne (*Biographia Literaria*, 8vo., 1842, vol. i. pp. 405-6).

Obj. 2.—The improbability that Alfred should have taken sufficient interest in Asser, before he had seen him, to invite him from Wales to his court; and that Asser hesitated to come (vol. i. p. 408).

Obj. 3.—The improbability that the *Life of Alfred* should be written in his lifetime, when he was in the vigour of his age (in his forty-fifth year); and that Asser, his biographer, who is believed to have survived him five years, should not have continued it (vol. i. p. 408).

Obj. 4.—That the *Life* is an unskilful compound of history and of legend (vol. i. p. 408).

Obj. 5.—That the historical part of it, *i.e.* that from 851 to 887 is evidently a mere translation from the *Saxon Chronicle*, with a few personal anecdotes added; whereas the *Saxon Chronicle*, according to the writer of the objections, was not in existence, most probably, till long after Alfred's death (vol. i. p. 409).

Obj. 6.—That the *Life* contains matters that could not have been written by bishop Asser; such as the statement which makes Alfred, a prince, complain that his education had been so neglected in his youth, that, when in childhood he was desirous of learning, he could not find instructors (vol. i. p. 409).

Obj. 7.—That he takes from a legendary *Life of St. Neot* the account of Alfred's misfortunes at Athelney, which he has added to what is said on the point in the *Saxon Chronicle* (vol. i. p. 409).

Obj. 8.—That this *Life of St. Neot*, from which Asser copied, was not written till the year 974; there being every reason to suppose that it was not indited till his relics were removed into Huntingdonshire in that year (vol. i. p. 410).

The above series of objections may be considered as not without interest, as containing the strongest arguments which can be brought against the genuineness of Asser's *Life of Alfred*. We will, however, merely answer them generally, noticing one or two of the principal ones, which, if they be shown not to be of importance, the others, which are quite subordinate to them, may be safely passed by. None of them, we may affirm without risk, are of a very overwhelming nature.

First, as to the identification of Asser, and whether he were bishop of Sherborne, or not. The ambiguous passages

in the preface to Alfred's *Pastorale* are usually accounted for thus. Alfred, we elsewhere find, had given him the church of Exeter, with a certain district annexed to it, which the king might have considered his bishopric; and addressed him accordingly, as having given him a bishop's jurisdiction within it. Thence he might have been styled "Asser, my bishop", Wulfsgie then being bishop of Sherborne; while on Wulfsgie's death he might have been made bishop of Sherborne itself. That he was bishop of Sherborne is stated in various ancient documents, and among them in the Latin copy of Alfred's will.

We cannot cite Cambrian accounts to corroborate Asser's biography as we find it in his *Life of Alfred*. However, there is but little doubt that he was the Geraint Vardd Glas of the Cambrians, of whom it is recorded that he lived about the year 900. He was a poet and grammarian, and his reputation in that age would appear to have been great; but his literary works, with the exception of a few fragments, are lost (see Owen Pughe's *Cambrian Biography*, 12mo, 1803; and Richard's *Eminent Welshmen*, 8vo, 1852). Besides this testimony, it appears from the *Chronicle* of Caradoc of Lancarvan, that there was an ecclesiastic named Asser appointed archbishop of St. David's in 905; who must have been the same as our Asser. The said Caradoc records his death in the ensuing year, 906.

We now come to what may apparently be considered his main objection, namely, that Asser's *Life of Alfred* contains passages which show that the *Saxon Chronicle* has been in many places copied into the historical part. We may here bring forward the Anglo-Norman poet, Gaimar, against the objection;—an author whom Mr. Wright himself has edited. Gaimar distinctly says that Alfred caused the *Saxon Chronicle*, or the *Book of Winchester*, to be compiled from such materials as could be found. (See his *Estorie des Engles*, as edited in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, v. 2316, *et seq.*, and v. 3451; and also his *Episode*, v. 33). Asser, then, might as easily have compiled from the *Saxon Chronicle*, as an author of the time of George III might have done from the *London Gazettes* of that reign; and consequently all difficulty on that head is thus at once removed.

The next principal objection is, that the *Life of Alfred*, by Asser, purporting to be written in the year 887, has re-

ference to the *Life of St. Neot*, which is believed not to have appeared till the year 974. The answer to which is, that the same may easily be credited to be nothing more than marginal references, which have been gradually taken into the text, from time to time, in copies made in monasteries of Asser's *Life of Alfred*. This might have been by the way of adding further details, and might have been more readily done as the passages in question were taken from the life of a saint.

The foregoing objections being thus answered, Asser may be considered as restored to the universal and unconditional acceptance with which his work has ever been received both in medieval and modern times. We now turn to vindicate another of our ancient historians against the attacks of the same modern writer.

OBJECTIONS *against the authenticity and genuineness*
of Gildas, by the author before cited.

These may be found in vol. xxxii. of the *Archæologia*, and in the *Biographia Britannica Literaria*; as also scattered about in various detached works and periodicals by the same pen. We may now principally collect them from the *Biographia Literaria*.

Obj. 1.—That the accounts of Gildas are legendary, confused, and contradictory. In particular, that the chronologies given in the two *Narratives* of his life; the one attributed to Caradoc of Lancarvan, and the other to a monk of the monastery of Rhuys, in Normandy, are totally inconsistent (*Biographia Britannica Literaria*, vol. i., p. 124); and that in regard to reconciling their contradictory data, it is not admissible to allege that there were two persons of the name (*Ibid.* p. 123).

Obj. 2.—That from the invectives it contains against the British clergy, the most due and practical conclusion is that it was a forgery, by some Anglo-Saxon or foreign priest, concocted during the controversies which took place between the two churches in the seventh century (*Ibid.* p. 128, and the *Archæologia*, vol. xxxii. p. 335).

Our answer to these objections, as in the case of those against Asser, will be brief; because any lengthened reply would be wholly unnecessary.

We would observe of the name Gildas, that it is generic, and implies "Princeps—minister", that is, the "Prince, the priest"; and consequently any prince or nobleman becoming an ecclesiastic, would be entitled to the appellation. Dr. C. O'Connor, in his *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores*, part ii. p. xxix., informs us, that he believes he could find a thousand persons of the name of Gildas connected with Irish literature. We do not want so many for our argument; but most writers, as archbishop Usher, Mr. Stevenson, Mr. Petrie, Dr. O'Connor, and others, suppose that there were two persons in this country of that name, which will fully remove all difficulties of chronology. In short, the dates which respect the first Gildas, as traceable in various ancient works (see the account of Gildas in the *Britannic Researches*, p. 166), go down in a regular series from the year 425 to 512; and those which refer to the second, from 492 to 570 (*Ibid.*).

In answer to Mr. Wright's second objection, it does not at all apply: for not only ill-feeling existed between the Latin communion and the British churches on account of the Easter controversy, which began about the year 634, and ended in the year 762, by the appointment of Elbodus, archbishop of Gwynedd by the Pope; but also it arose as early as the middle of the fifth century, on account of the Pelagian heresy, as is sufficiently notorious. We find that the mission of Germanus to Britain, in the interest of the Latin church, to combat the doctrine of Pelagius, took place as early as the year 429. (See Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, i. 17, and Prosper's *Chronicle*.)

We will now notice the objections set forth against Nennius, by the same author, in the two literary vehicles before cited.

OBJECTIONS *against the genuineness of the British history of Nennius, from the Biographia Britannica Literaria and the Archæologia.*

Obj. 1.—That the work of Nennius is a forgery, as containing allusions of a later date than the seventh (eighth) century, which was the era of the ecclesiastic of that name, the disciple of St. Elbodus, whom the fabricator intended to personate (*Biographia Literaria*, vol. i. pp. 137-140).

Obj. 2.—That the genealogies were introduced by the

forger with the intent of confirming the fictitious date he assigned to the history; but that imperfectly understanding chronology, he has fully convicted himself, by introducing anachronisms (*Ibid.* vol. i. p. 140).

Obj. 3.—That the history of Nennius is an absolute forgery, fabricated just before the history of William of Malmesbury was written, which appeared in the year 1135 (*Archæologia*, vol. xxxii. p. 337); or otherwise it is of an uncertain date (*Ibid.* p. 338).

We may observe on these objections, that we may well understand them to have had considerably more weight at the time they were made, some twelve years ago, than they can have at the present time, when every thing relating to the first publication of the history of Nennius, owing to the labours of the Hon. Algernon Herbert, and the Rev. Dr. Todd, is so much better understood. We now do not suppose any edition of the seventh century; and why not? Because those two gentlemen, in their *Dublin Edition*, 4to. 1847, very incontestably ascertained that the first manuscript edition was in the year 822, by Marcus, a Briton, who was an Irish bishop; and that the editions properly of Nennius do not come in till about the middle of the ninth century; and that afterwards there was a reproduction, in 946, of the edition of Marcus, with additions from the Nennian editions. The fact of these editions is now notorious, and we have adverted to them elsewhere; and we need not do more here than refer to the statement supplied by the Irish Nennius, which, we believe, has not been contradicted. This explanation will of course remove the two first objections, which it immediately meets; as also the third, which seems only a species of corollary from them.

The most mistakeable points connected with Nennius are in this way put right: and thus we have given a few reasons why this author, together with Asser and Gildas, should be continued among our early historical authorities. We have not intended to disparage Mr. Wright's *Biographia Britannica Literaria*, which is a history of Anglo-Saxon and Norman literature, and is obviously otherwise a work of merit, and contains much fruit of his own manuscript researches; but have felt bound to endeavour to correct what we conceive his erroneous views in respect to the subject on which we have animadverted.

THE ANCIENT BRITISH POETS.

It should not excite surprise, that the compositions of these primitive poets, going back, as they do, to considerable antiquity, should have been attacked and considered spurious by some. They have been so ; and in the beginning of the present century there has been a certain amount of controversy respecting them, in which the late eminent critic and scholar, Sharon Turner, took a part. That controversy has now mostly died away ; and we find a distinguished author, lately deceased, the Hon. Algernon Herbert, who paid much attention to Celtic literature, receiving unreservedly these ancient compositions. The controversy, nevertheless, has not so entirely disappeared but that some lurking scepticism may be occasionally traceable. One of the works which most readily presents itself is a work by the same author whose views we have lately had occasion to scrutinize,—who, in the *Wanderings of an Antiquary*, as published in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, October, 1853, and also separately, has consigned the bards, or rather their productions, to a mere ideal existence, and supposes that they have been personated by modern forgers, who have taken advantage of popular prepossessions and prejudices, and composed poems in their name. So thought Mr. Ritson half a century ago, and some others of that day, when the Macpherson question was more particularly mooted ; and this question of the Cambrian bards would appear to be the sequel to that. We now propose a few remarks on the genuineness of the productions attributed to these writers, which may very appropriately follow up the vindication of our three ancient and important historians, which we have submitted to our readers in our previous pages.

If, then, the numerous Welsh poems, extending from the sixth to the twelfth centuries, were forgeries, they must have been fabricated much in the same way that Père Hardouin supposed that the ancient classics, with an exception of Pliny's *Natural History* and a few other works, were produced ; that is, as it were, by a simultaneous consent and a species of conspiracy of a whole body of men of genius and learning, and great impostors, too, at the same time ; impostors, indeed, necessarily of surprising magnitude.

This monstrous supposition, we need scarcely say, never obtained currency among the literati of that time ; nor will the readers of the present day be very readily inclined to receive the corresponding one in regard to the Cambrian poets. It comes too much under the head of bold scepticism. We may therefore express a regret that a writer of undoubted learning and talent, and in many instances of sound judgment, should have again agitated the question, which it appears scarcely justifiable to do.

We will enter upon the topic : but as to do so fully would only be to go over the same ground as has been so satisfactorily traversed by the eminent Sharon Turner,—who has devoted a volume to the subject, entitled his *Vindication of the Ancient British Poets*, 8vo, 1803,—it will suffice to offer some few observations ; not with the idea to treat of it in all its branches, like Sharon Turner, but to show summarily the genuineness of the Cambrian bards, on an incontrovertible basis.

First, we may observe, that the antiquity and obsolescence of the language entirely suit some of the older bards, as Taliesin and Aneurin. So ancient is their diction, that they are not, without the greatest difficulty, comprehensible to the moderns. There is also an entire correspondency in the subjects of which they treat to their respective times. You see traces in them of still lurking Druidism ; the peculiar, wild manners of the sixth century ; the primitive customs of bardism ; and the Saxon war still in its earlier stages. With all this, these ancient poets, some of them, are contained in manuscripts as early as the twelfth century : as, for instance, in the *Black Book of Carmarthen*, in the Hengwrt library. Consequently, this nefarious gang of forgers, whose existence we are obliged to admit, if the Cambrian bardic poems be forgeries, must have been actively at work, regardless of the troubles of their country just previous to its final fall ; and just before, too, the era of Giraldus Cambrensis, who must have grossly neglected his duty as an historian, in not having given a full account of their proceedings.

We imply, then, that these ancient compositions were in existence as early as the twelfth century : and here, as corresponding to their antiquity, it will be right to point out the remarkable and very frequent recurrence of ellipses

in them, which is very highly significant. Ellipses in composition are not a characteristic of the later period of the middle ages; but rather, the contrary, a wearisome fulness. We may account for it in the earlier Welsh bards, that writing their poems not without some view of vocal performance, they omitted many connecting lines for the sake of brevity; and thus it happens that these productions have only reached us in this form. Take Taliesin's poem, the *Battle of Argoed Llwyfain*, and it will clearly appear that about as many lines necessary for connexion have been left out as are inserted.

The use of rhyme, again, has been objected to against the authenticity of the Welsh poetical compositions of the earlier period; but Sharon Turner, in his *Vindication of the Ancient British Poets*, pp. 250-267, shows the employment of it, by numerous instances, between the fourth and ninth centuries; and quotes a passage from St. Augustine, bishop of Hippo in the fifth century, relative to its adoption, and the reasons for it. The author of the *Biographia Britannica Literaria* (vol. ii. *Introduction*, p. 11) erroneously supposes that rhyme was a new feature in poetry in the twelfth century, and that it was first adopted by Hilarius, a poet of that era.

Giraldus Cambrensis has no express treatise on the Welsh bards; but in his *Liber Distinctionum*, c. 9, he mentions their "Cantores historici", which implies that he knew of the existence of the poems; for if they were historical singers, it surely must be implied that their songs, the subject of their singing, were written.

Having Welsh manuscripts as old as the twelfth century, there is of course no dispute as to the existence of Cambrian bards from that period. We find a series of them in the work of Sharon Turner. We can obtain some testimony from them of the earlier bards of all, and may take the following proofs from his pages.

Elidir Sais, a Cambrian poet, lived between the years 1160 and 1220, and mentions both Taliesin and Merddin Wyllt, who both lived in the sixth century.—Einiawn ap Gwgawn lived between 1200 and 1260, and mentions Llowarch Hên, a Cambrian bard of the sixth century.—Phyllyp Brydydd lived between 1200 and 1250, and mentions Taliesin.—David Benfras, who lived between 1190

and 1240, notices Merddyn Wyllt, Llowarch Hên, and Aneurin and his Gododin, and has an allusion to Taliesin, though he does not mention his name.—Llygad Gwa, who lived between 1220 and 1270, alludes to a passage in Taliesin about Ida, king of Northumberland, styled the “Flamddwyn”, or the Flame-bearer.—Gwilym Dhu, who lived between 1280 and 1320, mentions Taliesin and his “Flame-bearer”, Llowarch Hên, and Merddin Wyllt. These, like the first, were all Welsh poets; and seven others, who lived previous to the year 1400, mention one or the other of the bards of the sixth century, whose names are given as above, and hint nothing of their spuriousness. Enough, therefore, may possibly have been said to show that the poems of the early Welsh bards are not “pseudo-ancient”, as the author of the *Biographia Britannica Literaria* asserts, and that their principal productions, at least, are genuine.

THE BRITISH HISTORICAL TRIADS.

These ancient relics may, with great propriety, be subjoined to Asser, Gildas, and Nennius, and to the early British poets; and a few observations on them may not be irrelevant. They are about as old, in their present shape, as the tenth or eleventh century, having been formed out of a prior work of the seventh century, broken up for that purpose. This appears to be the main fact connected with their origin; and as they are found at times to be much disparaged in various quarters, as to their antiquity, it is necessary to advert to that point. It is objected that there are portions of them which relate to events as late as the twelfth century; and that the language in which they are written, pretty much corresponds to the same date; and, consequently, that they are no more than fictions concocted at that era. In brief answer it may be replied, as it is not intended to go into this subject at any length, that, had the numerous historical materials in the Triads been fictions of the twelfth century, they would have been worked up with greater extravagancies, according to the custom of the times; whereas there are scarcely more incredible circumstances in them than are usually mixed up with early Middle Age histories, and many of their details are very satisfactorily confirmed from independent sources.

Now as the objectors do not pretend to deny the principal facts,—indeed, they neither deny nor admit them, but merely object to the form in which they appear,—the general credibility of the contents of the Triads must be left to rest on its own basis; a course we must pursue with all medieval histories,—and, indeed, with many modern ones. But with regard to the two objections which have been noticed, it seems an obvious remark, that, as from time to time, new transcripts of the Triads have been made, both modern additions have been united with them, and the language modernized. Many of our standard histories, we find, have had professedly modern additions, as time has progressed; and the orthography of Shakespeare, Milton, and Pope, is now given in a modernized form, very different from that which they had at the time their works appeared; and if, in the case of the Triads, the phrase and diction, as well as the orthography, may have been much altered, the greater latitude allowed to an editor and reproducer of literary works in the middle ages, must be considered. The text of some few writers of ecclesiastical histories, or of other authors, who, from some reason, were much esteemed, may have been kept sacred; but we find that neither the language of Gildas, nor of Nennius, has come to us unaltered; particularly of the latter; and that the text of some of the ancient British poets has been much varied. We shall have an opportunity to advert briefly to this point again. In the meanwhile, a few words may be necessary on the characteristic features of these ancient compositions.

The Triads form an unique class of literary productions, for there is nothing similar to them in the literature of the whole of Europe. We may commence by observing, that the practice of iteration and reiteration forms a somewhat peculiar and very notable circumstance in ancient British poetry: that is to say, an emphatic reiteration, not of precisely the same ideas, but of ideas as nearly similar as could be selected, introduced, with the recurrence of the same formulary, at stated intervals. We are inclined to think that this is a legitimate part and parcel of the *materia poetica*; and it is certainly a means of producing a striking effect, as used by Llowarch Hên in his *Moranad*, or monody on the death of Urien Rheged, and in his other poems;

by Aneurin in his *Gododin* ; and by Taliesin in his *Battle of Menao*, and in his *Recompense of Urien*. It was not, however, adopted by the Greeks or Latins ; nor has it been by our English poets, probably from the fear of the notable fault of tautology, which, it must be confessed, has been in part incurred, though its bad effects have been avoided, and it has been improved into an exquisite beauty by the skilful management of the Celtic versifiers. This practice must have suited the taste of the times, from obtaining the currency it did ; and it is extremely probable that it suggested the species of reiteration which we find in the compositions which form our present subject of remark, although they are not in verse but prose. Well, what are the Triads ! They are, in fact, an old British history broken up into a constantly recurring series of comparisons, each comprising three separate subjects. Whether the author of the Triads had read Plutarch is unknown ; but, if he had, he must have exulted in surpassing him ; for whereas the comparisons of that author only comprise two subjects, those of the Triads invariably comprehend three, whether they be persons or things. In this way the author ranged through the whole compass of ancient British history, recording events sometimes evidently very obscure and unimportant, where the triple similitude could be pointed out ; while other transactions, which could not be so, were of course omitted. However, with a genius so fertile as that of the author of the Triads, in finding the threefold similitude, the historical facts disqualified for admission were possibly not numerous.

It is a circumstance connected with the Triads, that it can be almost demonstrated that only one ancient history of the Britons was used in forming them. It is easy to imagine that the monastery or community, of which the author was a member, might, in those times, have been in the like case with Sir Roger de Coverley, in the *Spectator*, with his Sir John Baker's chronicle, and only possessed one history of their country ; which, we may add, must have been a very copious one. It is certain it was not the British history of Gildas, or of Nennius, nor that of Tysilio ; and whoever has read the works of those authors with attention, and notices how numerous the circumstances are in the Triads, which are not in them ; and notices again,

that where the same facts are related, which can be found elsewhere, they have almost invariably a different turn, he will feel an entire conviction that none of those writers have been consulted; nor, in fact, is there the slightest trace in any other quarter where the materials could have been obtained. All we can know of the lost history is from, as it were, the reflection of it in the Triads. It may be pronounced with certainty, from the internal evidence they afford,—which it would be too long to treat of here,—that it was of bardic composition, and more a civil history than a military one; entering into a detail of conspiracies and political combinations, and, in particular, being very full where the bards were concerned. Now between the bards and the Latin Church there was ever a feeling near akin to enmity. But the tone of the original was evidently truly Cambrian. No wonder then, this circumstance considered, that there was a wish in the monastery to which it is supposed to have belonged, to put it in another form; to get rid of the objectionables, to omit what they pleased of pagan rites and ceremonies, and bardic tenets and perversions, which were truly very inveterate, as is only too well known; and, at the same time, to retain the parts which were so congenial to their patriotism, and to their general ideas on other subjects.

We can now perceive that, admitting the original history to have been written in the seventh century, and thrown into the form of Triads in the tenth or eleventh, there might be a good cause for the alteration of phrase and language. The principal change would of course take place when this was done; and the work having taken a more popular shape, the alterations of the next hundred or hundred and fifty years, to suit it to common reading, might more naturally be expected.

The dates of the seventh century assigned here to the original, and of the tenth or eleventh century to the transformation, are entirely from internal evidences. It is easy to see that the main narrative stops at the epoch of the seventh century; concluding, in fact, with the reign of Cadwallon, the son of Cadvan, who ascended the throne in the year 638. As to the second particular, the assigning the date of the tenth or eleventh century for the transmutation, the same seems rather the most applicable, as at

that time the Druidic and bardic influence had been already long in the wane, which the change of form of the work would seem necessarily to imply. Besides, there is a mention of the Normans in *Triad* 12, which may or may not be indicative of date.

The Triads are first mentioned, as sources of historical information, in a work entitled *The Reformed History of England*, as cited in Speed's *History*, fol., 1614, p. 280; and there referred to as the *Book of the Triads*.

Nevertheless, though they may have been thus cited, they seem to have been scarcely known a hundred and fifty years ago, when the celebrated Edward Lhuyd announced that such documents were extant. They were printed in Welsh in the *Myvyrian Archæology*, in the beginning of the present century; and have appeared once or twice since, in an English dress, as a portion of other works relating to Wales. They still, therefore, are somewhat in the background, and the following statistics of them may be of use.

The historical Triads, as originally published, were a hundred and twenty-six in number; and, in 1840, eleven supplementary Triads were added, which are believed to be of good authority. We may give the subjoined estimate of the subjects of the whole hundred and thirty-seven, which probably approaches nearly to truth.

They may be stated to contain about a thousand alleged historical and ethnographical facts or allusions, of which about three hundred are mythological, or next akin to that class. Of the remaining seven hundred facts or allusions, about four hundred are mentioned elsewhere in the circle of Welsh or Caledonian literature; while the remaining three hundred are found solely in these documents; and we are almost entirely destitute of other evidence as to their veracity or falsehood; but the truth, or partial truth, of the greater portion of them is to be presumed.

We have thus endeavoured to set forth the case of the Triads, which, from the great illustrations they supply to ancient British history, notwithstanding the drawbacks which have been noticed, might well deserve a greater share of attention. They are the more important as presenting our early national history dissimilar, in various points of view, from other authorities. The facts and allusions in them, which want collateral support, are certainly

very numerous. But all idea of forgery may be dismissed; and we may take them for their value as the representatives of an early medieval bardic history now lost, which appears to have been written with good faith and sincerity, according to the best of the author's knowledge and belief, and tinged, of course, by his errors and prepossessions.

ANCIENT BRITISH COINS.

Though it might be out of place to make the present pages a numismatical treatise, yet we cannot but notice the great value of ancient British coins for the illustration of the early state of the island. The whole number of states of South Britain, great and small, amounted to twenty-three, which were under the sway of three superior sovereigns, who formed the predominating powers of those days. We have the coinage of these three leading kingdoms clear and indisputable: that of the Trinobantes and dependencies, and of the Icenii and Brigantes. Likewise, besides these coinages, we have what we may denominate the ancient British provincial moneys of six of the minor or component states of the said principal ones; that is, of the Atrebates, Cangi, Cassii, Dobuni, Dumnonii, and Icenii-Coritani, as also of about as many cities. The various different types which have legends, amount to several hundreds; and, as there are the names of numerous sovereigns inscribed on them, some mentioned by ancient authors, and some not, together with, very usually, their titular distinctions, and, in some cases, with the names of their states expressed at the same time, it may be justly asked,—how can this be, without a greatly increased knowledge of ancient Britain being the result? The answer is obvious; and, in fact, the explorations made of late years in the subject of ancient British coins, have dissipated much of the darkness which before hung over the first, or British, period of the history of our island.

CHAPTER II.

REMARKS ON THE BRITISH HISTORY OF NENNIUS, AND ON THE KINDRED HISTORICAL MEMOIR OF GILDAS, ENTITLED "DE EXCIDIO BRITANNIÆ"; AND ON ITS AUTHOR.

A CERTAIN amount of the early history of our island is contained in the work we have first mentioned as above, which has never yet been sufficiently brought forward. Many have written on this production of Nennius; but the account he gives us has not always been examined with a due attention to his untutored style and his early era; and critics, neither finding the polish nor arrangement of William of Malmesbury, or of William of Newburgh, in his pages, his real historical value has been overlooked, and even, sometimes, his work recommended to oblivion. Some excellent editions, it is true, have been published; yet they are not such as would necessarily make the work very popular. For instance, that of Mr. Stevenson, and that of the late Mr. Petrie, in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, are chiefly to set forth a correct text; very necessary, from the corrupt form in which it has reached us. These editions do not give explanatory notes, or only extremely few; nor do they profess to display the historical scope of the author. Mr. Gunn's edition, in 1819, is, for the most part, confined to Cambrian affairs; while the last edition, that of Dublin, by Dr. Todd, is scarcely procurable in this country. In reality, few know the contents of Nennius; and the same is undoubtedly the case with regard to the kindred history of the old British author, Gildas, a writer so connected with our present topic as to require to be mentioned; who has scarcely had a less share of obloquy and disparagement, and equally undeservedly so. This author will need, in the sequel, some separate

remarks; but we will, in the first instance, merely bring him forward to make a comparison between his work and that of Nennius. We shall thus be able to see the scope of both histories, and better estimate them; for sometimes they both supply the same events, and sometimes one of them has an entirely different series of transactions from the other. Both are valuable historians; and why? Because, either separately or in common, they narrate facts which are not recorded elsewhere. No further defence of them is necessary here; except to say that they are not answerable for the mistakes, often absurd enough, which various chronologists and critics have made in regard to them: mistakes as to the era in which they lived: mistakes as to their identity: and mistakes as to their motives in writing. They can well afford to stand on their own evidences, as authors of their respective periods.

We will now range the principal data and occurrences, as recorded in the work of Gildas, in columns, against those of Nennius. The leading points of both histories will thus be concisely and correctly shewn what they are; which must not be considered superfluous, as the facts given by these authors are often so erroneously connected by casual readers with events to which they do not at all relate, that some correct explanations seem more especially required. Besides, it will be thus at once seen what one author supplies, and the other omits. Afterwards, we may continue with some further comments on Nennius.

It may be necessary to say that the references to the chapters of *Nennius* will be given as they are arranged in the edition of this author in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*. Those in Mr. Stevenson's slightly vary; while the Dublin copy entirely differs; and Mr. Gunn's has no divisions of the kind. With regard to these editions, then, the present references, by number of the chapter, will apply to those paragraphs where the respective chapters should begin. The division into chapters in *Gildas* is nearly uniform in the various editions.

Several editions of the ancient manuscript copies of Nennius will be occasionally found mentioned in the following pages. That there should be multiplied manuscript editions of what is no more itself than a manuscript, may surprise a casual reader; but so it is with our author.

Besides the Irish copies, there are the editions of 822, 840, 858, 906, and 946, which are mostly certified by the years of the kings' reigns, with which they are dated. All the various dates in the different editions of Nennius should be taken in good faith; and there is really no ground for conjecturing forgery upon forgery, and deception upon deception, in them, as some have done. It is difficult to imagine any object which a scribe could have, who had made a new copy or edition of Nennius, to subjoin to it a wrong date; whilst it is easy to conceive the inducements he may have had to give a right one. In fact, the work of Nennius was altered and varied, enlarged and abridged, at several consecutive periods.

A COMPARISON OF THE CONTENTS OF THE BRITISH
HISTORIES OF GILDAS AND NENNIUS.

GILDAS.

Description of the pagan
worship of the ancient is-
landers, c. iv.

The invasion of Claudius,
c. v.

Implanting of the Gospel
in Britain in the latter part
of the reign of this emperor,
or beginning of Nero: the
name of the missionary not
stated, but believed to have
been Aristobulus, otherwise
Arwystli; c. viii.

The persecution of Dio-
cletian in Britain, and the
martyrdoms of St. Albanus,

NENNIUS.

Various theories of the ori-
gin of the early inhabitants
of the island, c. ii.—x. and
xii.—xiii.

The invasion of Julius Cæ-
sar, c. xiv.—xvi.

Ibid., c. xvii.

The conversion of the Bri-
tons by Lucius, in the reign
of Antoninus; c. xviii.

GILDAS.

Aaron, and Julius, as also of Amphibalus; c. x.

Dissensions caused by the Arian heresy in Britain, c. xii.

The three rebellions against the Romans in Britain (cc. vi. vii. xiii.), viz. :—

I. The rebellion of Carausius, cc. vi. vii.

II. The rebellion of Maximus, c. xiii., in connexion with which is described the return of the Roman legion to Britain; or, as it should properly be expressed, two legions and auxiliaries, after the rebellion was put down; c. xiv—xv.

NENNIUS.

Ibid., c. xxvii. and cc. xx. xxii. xxv.

Ibid., c. xx.

Ibid., c. xxii.

Ibid., c. xxvii., and compare c. xxiii.

Rebellion of Constantine the Tyrant. *Dubl. edit.*, c. xxvii. in fine, p. 75. ("But again, the Roman tribute," etc.) It has been apparently omitted by copyists in all other editions.

The Dublin edition has, in the above instance, retained the correct text; but the whole of the editions of Nennius have struck out the mention of Constantine the Tyrant, which, according to the context (compare cc. xx. xxii.) appears originally to have stood in c. xxv., and have inserted Constantine of Armorica instead. Mr. Gunn, in his edition of Nennius, p. 146, erroneously supposes that Constantine the Tyrant is the person intended in the said c. xxv., even in its present form. Mr. Petrie, the editor of the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, thought that Constantius, father of Constantine the Great, was meant (see p. 61 of that work), forgetting, or unmindful, that he had already been mentioned just before, in the preceding c., xxi. Compare *Britannic Researches*, p. 38.

III. Devastations of the island by the Scots and Picts,

Ibid., Dublin edition, c. xxvii., in fine p. 75, and c.

GILDAS.

consequent on Constantine's rebellion; c. xvi. ("Illâ legione cum triumpho," etc.)

Ibid., c. xvii. ("At illi—cursus accelerantes," etc.)
And compare c. xviii.

The Romans leave Britain entirely, c. xviii. The Romans, on their leaving, build (repair) towers on the south (qu., of the wall?) on the sea shore. Ibid.

The Picts and Scots break through the Roman wall, and devastate Britain, and the Irish Scots make descents; c. xix.

Other fierce invasions of Britain about the year 432, c. xix. in fine.

Afterwards a famine in Britain, c. xix. in fine.

The Brigantes apply to Aëtius, the Roman general in Gaul, for aid against the Picts and Scots; c. xx.

NENNIUS.

xxvii.; all other editions also in fine. ("Britones autem propter," etc.)

The Roman legion which, according to some accounts, was, under Gallio, sent over to Britain forty years after the rebellion of Maximus, which would have been in the year 423. Compare c. xxvii. in fine, and c. xxviii.

The first mission of St. Germanus to Britain, about A.D. 429; cc. xxx. xxxix. l.

The mission of Palladius to the Scots about the same time, c. lv.

The mission of St. Patrick to the Irish about A.D. 432, who resides also some time in Wales and Cornwall; c. lviii.

GILDAS.

Afterwards another famine, c. xx.

Afterwards the invaders are several times defeated, c. xxii.

A period of great plenty, date uncertain ; c. xxii.

After which a severe pestilence, c. xxii. in fine.

A council is held of the British kings and chiefs, to consult in what way the Scots and Picts might be repelled, c. xxii. in fine.

Vortigern, the king of the Britons (A.D. 449), with the advice of his council, invites the Saxons to act as allies against their northern enemies ; c. xxiii.

The Saxons murmur in respect to their supplies of food, c. xxiii. in fine.

NENNIUS.

Second mission of St. Germanus to Britain, about A.D. 447, c. lx.; and compare the ancient *Capitula* to Nennius, cc. xlviii. and liii.

Hengist and Horsa arrive accidentally on the coast of Kent (in A.D. 449), c. xxviii.

They are taken into Vortigern's service, and receive the Isle of Thanet ; c. xxix.

They are encamped there, c. xxxvi.

Ibid., c. xxxvi.

Hengist obtains leave of Vortigern to send for reinforcements. In consequence, sixteen ships arrive ; and Hengist's daughter, coming

GILDAS.

NENNIUS.

over with them, is, in the sequel, married to Vortigern, and the Saxons receive Kent for her portion ; - c. xxxvi.

Hengist obtains leave of Vortigern to send for his son Ohta, and Ebissa, son of his wife's sister (*Irish Nennius*), who come with forty ships, and occupy the country about the Wall ; c. xxxviii.

Vortigern's incest, c. xxxix.

Faustus, Vortigern's son, dedicated to a monastic life, c. xxxix.

Vortigern consults magicians, c. xl.

Vortigern is unable to build a castle in North Wales, cc. xli. and xlv. ; but builds one "in sinistrali parte Britanniae", *i. e.*, in the western part of Britain, in Gunnis (varied to Guenet, etc., etc.) or Gwent (?) *i. e.* in Erging in Herefordshire : "sinistralis" here signifying, as Gunn shows, p. 170, the Cambrian side of the Severn. The castle, Nennius informs us, was called Cair Guorthegirn ; and the same may be understood to have been Ariconium ; c. xlv.

War commences between the Saxons and the Britons, c. xxiii. in fine.

Ibid., c. xlvi.

First battle with the Saxons on the Derwent, *i. e.* Darenth ; c. xlvii.

Second battle, at Episford

GILDAS.

From about 473 to 481, the Saxons take and destroy many towns all through Britain, from the east to the west: fires not ceasing till they had burnt up the whole face of the country; churches yield to the flames. The whole of the Roman-British walled cities and towns (*coloniae*), *i. e.* all such that came into their possession, are levelled by the battering-ram. The inhabitants of these places, with the heads of the church, and priests, are driven from their homes, and stricken down. Multiplied scenes of terror occur: the captured

NENNIUS.

(Aylesford, see *Matthew of Westminster*), c. xlvii.

Third battle, also at Aylesford, but at Saissenaig Hai-bal, apparently a different locality thereabouts, where Horsa and Catigern are slain; c. xlvii.

Fourth battle, at Lapis Tituli, on the sea shore; c. xlvii.

The Saxons are driven to their ships, c. xlvii.

Vortimer, the leader of the Britons, dies, and the Saxons return; c. xlvii.

About A.D. 469, Vortigern cedes provinces in the west of Britain to Aurelius Ambrosius; c. xlv.

The massacre, about A.D. 473, at Stonehenge; c. xlviii.

GILDAS.

towns present to the view
swords brandishing on every
side, flames crackling, walls,
towers, and buildings falling,
and many crushed by the
ruins of them, even in the
middle of the streets, and left
there for a prey to the birds
and beasts; c. xxiv.

In these times many emi-
grate, while others screen
themselves among woods,
hills, and precipices, where
they are often surprised, and
slaughtered in heaps; till at
length, many of the Saxons
having returned to their own
country, and the scattered
Britons being joined by nu-
merous fugitives from the
destroyed towns, and having
for their leader Aurelius Am-
brosius, who was both brave,
and faithful to their inte-
rests, they begin to make
head against their conque-
rors; c. xxv.

NENNIUS.

Death of Vortigern (about
A.D. 481), c. l. His son, Pas-
cent, is allowed by Aurelius
Ambrosius to retain posses-
sion of the districts Buil and
Guorthigirnian, in Wales;
c. liii.

From about 481 to 492,
the Britons carry on the war
with various success: some-
times conquerors, sometimes
conquered, till the year of
the siege of Mount Badon,
when occurred the greatest

GILDAS.

slaughter till then known of the invaders; in the 44th year after their arrival, one month of it being elapsed (449+43), *i.e.* 492; c. xxvi.

NENNIUS.

From about A.D. 517 to 525, Arthur's battles take place, in the north of Britain, and in Caledonia, against the Saxons. First, the battles on the river Glein, in Northumberland; the second, third, fourth, and fifth battles on the Dubglas in Limnuis, *i.e.* the Dunglas in Lothian; the sixth, on the Bassas, possibly the river Pease, also in Lothian; the seventh, in the forest of Celidon, which appears to imply the Sylva Caledonia itself, in the country of the Picts, who had at this time for many years been the allies of the Saxons; the eighth at Castle Guinnion, *i.e.* Vinovium, or Binchester, in Durham. For all these engagements, see c. lxiv.

Supposed allusion to Arthur, in the *Epistola* of Gildas, c. xxxii. ("Ut quid in nequitia," etc., etc.)

A.D. 525-532. Arthur's other battles, all in other parts of England, one excepted, were, the ninth, at Caerleon, supposed to be meant for Warwick; the tenth on the river Trat Treuroit, unknown; the eleventh, at Agned, which is the same as Edin, or Edinburgh, and is called, in one copy, the battle of Agned Cathbregomion; the twelfth, at Caer

GILDAS.

Supposed allusion to Arthur, *Epistola*, c. xxxiii. ("Nonne in primis adolescentiæ," etc.

NENNIUS.

Vyddaw, or Silchester, not Mount Badon, or Bath, as has been frequently supposed (see *Britannic Researches*, p. 63). The error has been widely diffused: c. lxiv.

Notwithstanding these successes, the Saxons were reinforced more and more from Germany, and invited princes over thence to rule provinces in the island; and this process was perpetually repeated: c. lxv.

We have given the main framework of the histories of both authors in the above short abstracts, leaving the minor details, the fillings-up of the framework, to those who may make more particular researches, ours being merely a general one to illustrate the nature and scope of the two histories.

With regard to the historical information afforded by this comparison of the two authors: they sometimes remind one of the two beams of a scale, inasmuch as when the one author is up and stirring to give us information, the other is down and quiescent; while, again, at other times, they both render us their services. With all this, not unfrequently, and indeed it is very usually the case, they are alike silent as to known facts which might have been thought to come within the scope of both their histories. Here an obvious remark seems to suggest itself.

It is much to be regretted that Bede, who must have had excellent means of information, did not narrate the latter Roman events connected with Britain more historically. His details are sketchy, slight, and incorrect. He takes them almost entirely from Gildas, who himself compiled them from a sneering account of Britain, drawn up some years previous to his time, when civil and religious contests ran very high, on account of the Pelagian heresy and the defections of Britain from Rome in the time of Maximus and Constantine the Tyrant. Bede was a Saxon, and undoubtedly had strong prepossessions against

the British race, which might have influenced him. But independently of this, he may be easily supposed to have laid down a rule among those he imposed upon himself in writing his Church history, to follow none but Ecclesiastical authorities; and absolutely to take nothing from a pagan, or British, or heretical source. Hence may have been a prime cause of his work being so meagre in regard to Roman affairs, relating to the latter part of the fourth century and the beginning of the fifth.

In observing this, we may add, that there are one or two other points in the narratives of Gildas, Bede, and Nennius to which we may advert. Gildas acquaints us in his c. 4, that he derived his information from an account drawn up in a foreign country; but he tells us that he only intended to give the political relations of Britain with Rome, as a subject state, and often rebellious. There is no question that his authority had a somewhat detailed account of the three rebellions against the Roman power which were so remarkable: those of Carausius, Maximus, and Constantine; because it is obvious it would have been entirely within the scope of the work from which he tells us he copied. Nor can we suppose but that it gave an account of the gradual process of the Romans leaving the country. However his purpose being, as has been said, he does not keep the various transactions distinct, but, in a kind of *capriccio* strain, dilates here and there, as he could best bring in his own somewhat peculiar views. He only professes to give the general bearing of the conduct of Britain to Rome, and does no more. Bede, on the other hand, writing about two centuries afterwards, and wanting an historical sketch of Britain at this period, as a species of prefix to his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, and finding this ready to his hand, and written, too, by a person whose reputation for sanctity was great, adopts it for history, and so, in fact, gives currency to a most imperfect representation of events. The same was somewhat the case with Marcus, the original compiler of the *History of the Britons*, afterwards re-edited by Nennius. He, inditing from certain annals of the times which he had before him, gives more properly a view *in extenso* of the British affairs of which he treated, than a chronological transcript or abbreviation of them. But Marcus was not like Gildas, writing as a

controversialist, so he preserves somewhat more the thread and consistency of the narrative ; and it was afterwards transferred pretty nearly in the same form to the pages of Nennius. We are thus able to have some correct intimation of what occurred from these two last writers, together with many details of chronology, which we never could have collected from Gildas or Bede. However, to continue.

The history of Gildas ends properly at the battle of Mount Badon in 492, and that of Nennius with the victories of Arthur ; that is, about the year 532. But there are certain additaments to this last in the shape of Saxon genealogies, which contain fragments of British and Saxon history. We may note some principal points in these genealogies, with which, of course, we have nothing to correspond in Gildas, from the reason we have just mentioned. We will now treat of their contents.

Their main subject is the state of the ancient kingdom of Brigantia in early Saxon times. This originally comprised the compass and extent of the present counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Durham, Lancashire, and Yorkshire ; and having become a province under the Romans, they found it necessary, as we find in *Pausanias*, in his eighth book, c. 43, to reduce its strength in the reign of Antoninus, by making a subdivision of its territories. The Sistuntii, mentioned by Ravennas, appear to have been divided off on the west coast, and the Parisii on the east, the latter possessing the Yorkshire sea-coast, and some considerable breadth of territory inland. The former appear to have corresponded to the kingdom of Southern Cumbria (Cumberland, etc.), of the existence of which there is notice as early as the year 388 (see Rowland's *Mona Antiqua*, p. 183) ; whilst the Parisii must have occupied the tract known afterwards as Deira. These several divisions having existed in the province under the Romans would make it more likely that they should continue after they left. This we find was the case. *Triad* 39 mentions that three chiefs, each of bardic rank, whose names were Gall, Difedel, and Ysgavnell, possessed Deira and Bernicia ; the date not specified ; but they could only have possessed them as sovereigns after the Romans had relinquished the island. Bernicia was the territory north

of Deira, extending to the Roman wall; but the Triad does not give its then British name, nor is the history of the three chiefs further recorded. In the days of Vortigern, Hengist sent for Ohta and Ebissa, as we have seen at a preceding page, to act against the northern enemies of the Britons. These chiefs made a cruising voyage, ravaged the Orkneys, and ultimately settled down in Bernicia. As to the British cause, they deserted it, and made a treaty of alliance with their enemies the Picts. We may give a date to this epoch of the year 455, at which time the Britons held the province of Deira, as should seem; the western parts of the ancient Brigantia, or the southern Cumbria, as also some middle parts of the ancient province; while the Saxons had become possessed of the maritime district before mentioned, or of a great part of it.

Such was the state of affairs in the part of the island to which the genealogies principally apply. We may observe, in speaking generally of their contents, that they treat of the successors of Ida, a Saxon chief of great fame, who is reported to have come over to check the Britons after the successes which had been obtained by Arthur. However this may be, he became king of Bernicia; and Ella, who was of distant consanguinity to him, appears to have been, about the same time, king of Deira; and in their days, the two provinces began to assume the name of the kingdom of Northumberland. It was called in Latin sometimes *Regnum Northambriorum*, and sometimes *Regnum Nordorum*. This kingdom had the peculiarity connected with it, that subsequently it was occasionally held by one and the same monarch, and occasionally by two. The genealogies likewise show that the kingdom of Mercia, formed about the year 586 by the Saxon chief Crida, was only at first a dependency on the kings of Northumberland, but became independent about a century afterwards, in the time of Penda, the son of Pybba. They also treat of the kings of East Anglia and Kent, and give an account of the conquest of a certain territory named Elmet, as we shall see. In regard to Ida, his reign, according to the *Saxon Chronicle*, commenced in the year 547, and is considered to have terminated in 565. He was called *Flamddwyn*, or the "Flame-bearer", as is recorded by Taliesin, and in the *Triads*. From some unknown cause,

he is not mentioned by Bede in his *Ecclesiastical History*, but only in his *Supplementary Chronology*.

It will be better, in continuing with the subject of our genealogies which refer to a very complicated series of transactions, to note some of the events they supply in their chronological order. This may be the more necessary, as in some measure the said events are only to be met with in these fragments; or else vary essentially from the form in which they are elsewhere to be found. The dates which we have given are of course supplied.

To revert to the origin of the kingdom of Deira, as in our genealogies. It may be inferred, that about the time that Ochta and Ebissa seized Bernicia, the immigration and invasion of other bodies of Saxons in these quarters was very great. Simultaneously, as would appear by these our sources, the seizure of this territory was made, which we will accordingly commence with, as it stands at the head of the short abstract which we now offer.

(About the year 455.) Soemil, great grandfather's grandfather, of the Ella we have just spoken of, first separated the kingdom of Deira from that of Bernicia.

(About the year 565.) Hussa, son of Ida, is represented as being at war with four British kings—Urbgen (Urien Rheged), Riderch-hên, Guallauc, and Mordcant; the first being the person of that name so celebrated by Taliesin in his *Battle of Argoed Llwyfain*. But the said chief, as we are informed by the poet just mentioned, was opposed to the leader surnamed the "Flamddwyn", who is usually supposed to be Ida himself. Hussa, then, just recorded by Nennius, could only have been his general, and this battle may be placed in consequence, as we have done in the last year of Ida's life—that is, in the year 565. Urien, according to his name Rhi-Ged, would have been king of Gadeni, the neighbouring state to the Ottodini, on the north-west. The transaction is described by Taliesin with very great animation; and the two states, though attacked by a powerful army divided into four bodies, succeeded in liberating themselves. Taliesin, in his *Moranad*, or monody on the death of Owen, son of Urien, verses 16, 30, informs us that he slew Ida, having succeeded in surprising that chief and his army by a night attack. There is a probability that this event followed close upon the battle, and

that the invasion of Northumberland, recorded by the genealogies, took place soon after both transactions ; and thus that the three events occurred in one year ; the battle of Argoed Llwyfain, the death of Ida, and the inroad upon the Bernician kingdom. A fourth, disastrous to the Britons, was soon to happen ; for these fragments go on to mention that, after some vicissitudes of the war, Urien having beleaguered Deodric, son of Ida, and his sons in the Isle of Medcaut, or Lindisfarne, he was assassinated by Mordcant, one of the four associated princes, out of envy for his superior talents. This check to the victorious career of the Britons at this juncture, is believed to have been highly detrimental to their cause.

Regarding the death of Urien : Lowarch-hên has a long *Moranad*, or monody, on the event. He does not assign the cause ; but as he speaks of Mordcant with complacency, it may be inferred that he was not slain from envy, but fell in a fray in which there was wrong on both sides, and, possibly, some circumstances not to the credit of the illustrious chief. We cannot otherwise construe his silence. Lowarch-hên was himself a British prince, who ruled one of the Caledonian kingdoms, and accompanied the British army at the time. He informs us that, after some days, he bore away the head to the burial ; by which it is known that this valiant leader had been decapitated.

In narrating the reign of Ida, the passage occurs in the genealogies of Nennius, "Et unxit Dinguardi Guurth-Ber-neich," which is interpreted with some little diversity. Some suppose that the words imply that he was notable as uniting (junxit) the two provinces of Deira and Bernicia ; others receiving that it is intended to be said that he lived (vixit) at Dinguardi, in Bernicia, by which they conceive to be meant Bamborough, which seems, indeed, the best interpretation. The passage is somewhat uncertain, and even has been doubted by readers in the Middle Ages ; for it has been made a subject of comment on the margin of one of the earliest manuscripts we have of Nennius ; *i.e.*, that of the Corpus Christi Library, Cambridge, of the thirteenth century, which is the one marked B by Mr. Petrie, and K by Mr. Stevenson. The text, indeed, appears to be corrupted at the place. Collaterally the words are of import in another point of view : as in Bernicia, being

called a Guorth, that is, an "Honour", or "Barony", the supremacy of the kingdom of Kent at that time may be supposed to be alluded to. It may readily be believed to have been subordinate to the kingdom of Kent; the first Saxon occupation of it having been by Ohta and Ebissa, the son and nephew of Hengist; or, at any rate, his lieutenants, who was then king of that part of the island.

After this, the battle of Gododin, so celebrated by Aneurin in his poem, took place, much to the north of the localities before mentioned, in immediate proximity to the wall of Antoninus, about the year 570. The parties in this conflict were the Strathclyde Britons (including, by that denomination, several northern states) on the one side, and the Saxons, Bernicians, and some of the Brigantes, called Loegrians, and the Picts on the other. The principal leaders of the Britons were Mynyddawg, prince of Strathclyde, and Tudvuleh, prince of Edin, both killed, and others, their chiefs, are mentioned in great profusion. Singular to say, the poem records not the Saxon commanders; and, though it names Bun, the Bearnoch of the genealogies, sister-in-law of Owen (see *Triad* 105), and widow of Ida, who accompanied her people, the Bernicians, into battle, and was still young and beautiful, and was killed, it seems only done to stigmatize a traitress, who was born a Briton. In regard to the Picts, it is said that Donald Brych led them, and was also killed. The result given of the conflict, is, that the British army was routed with immense slaughter. This battle, though it be not recorded in Nennius, is nevertheless mentioned here to preserve the connexion of events.

It should be noted likewise, in this place, that there were several other battles, which occurred between the northern Britons and the Saxons of the kingdoms of Deira and Bernicia, about these times. The precise period of their occurrence, and their localities, are somewhat uncertain. As to the first particular, they apparently were fought between the years 560 and 585: as to the latter, it is pretty certain that they took place in the eastern portion of the old Strathclyde, or in Northumberland. The ultimate result of them to the northern Britons, was the usual one to their countrymen, of losing their eastern territories, and retaining their western ones. The names of

these contests are given thus: Menao, Gwenn-Estrad, Kirchine, and Eaganstone. They have been very learnedly illustrated by G. Vere Irving, Esq., in the *Journal of the British Archæological Association* for 1855, who has laboured in this field of research with much success. We need not do more, at this place, than to mention the names of the confederate Britons, who were those of Strathclyde Proper, the Selgovæ, Novantes, and the states of Edin, Rheged, Argoed, and the southern Cumbria; which passes, in the *Genealogies*, under the name of Gwenedota, *i. e.* Gwynedd, because it was held as a province, in these times, by the kings of Gwynedd, or North Wales. Llowarch-hên, prince of Argoed, was obliged to flee, and take refuge in Cambria, on the success of the Saxons; and we may possibly be indebted for his applying himself to poetry, to his retirement from his kingdom.

(About A.D. 600.) Ethelfrith, son of Ealdric, and consequently grandson of Ida, who has a bad reputation in history for his ferocity, is next introduced on the scene. The *Chronicle* of Tysilio upbraids him for his inhumanity; and the *Triads*, on two several occasions, accuse him of eating human flesh. This narrative merely gives him the opprobrious name of "Flesawr", or, as in some copies, "Flemawr", that is, in one case, the *Devastator*, in the other, the *Runagate*, alluding probably to his defeat at Bangor, so celebrated in the Cambrian annals, in the year 613.

(About A.D. 616.) It was not till the reign of Edwine, son of Ella, the first king of Deira, and contemporary with Ethelfrith, that the powerful Northumbrian kingdom wrested Elmet, the central province of Yorkshire, from the Britons, and added it to its own sway. Elmet now forms that part which is the environs of Leeds, and is not far to the south-west of Eburacum, or York. The candid inquirer after truth will acknowledge that great probability is afforded to *Tysilio* and to the *Chronicle* accounts, who represent Eburacum in the hands of the Britons in the middle of the previous century.

(About A.D. 626 and 627.) Eanfled, daughter of the said Edwin, is first baptized, with all her followers, men and women; and the ensuing year Edwin himself is baptized, and twelve thousand men with him. Rum Map-Urbgen, *i. e.* Rhun, the son of Urien, baptized them; and,

for forty days continuance, did not cease to baptize the Saxon race. The account here seems pointedly intended to contradict Bede, who says the baptism was performed by Paulinus, afterwards bishop of Rochester; but it is possible that Rhun ap Urien, and Paulinus, who was bishop of Rochester, may have been one and the same person.

(About A.D. 634.) Cathgwollan (Cadwallon) king of Gwynedd, defeats Edwine and his two sons at the battle of Meicen (Hatfield, in Yorkshire, *Bede*, ii. 20), and they are all killed in the battle. Penda, son of Pybba, and king of Mercia, we are informed by Bede, was the ally of Cadwallon in this battle.

(About A.D. 635.) Oswald Lamngwin, or Oswald White-sword, king of Bernicia, defeated and slew the said Cathgwollan, or Cadwallon, at the battle of Catscaul, or Denishourne, or, as it was otherwise called, Hefenfelth, or "Heaven Field", on account of the miracles which were supposed to be wrought in the vicinity of the cross which was set up at this place just before the battle. (See *Bede*, iii. 2.)

(About A.D. 640.) Mercia, under Penda, the son of Pybba, becomes independent of the kingdom of Northumberland. There is also some notice of the Saxon civil wars.

(About A.D. 642.) Penda, son of Pybba, confederate with Onna, king of the East Angles, being at war with Oswald, king of Northumberland, the latter was defeated and slain in the battle of Cocboy, or, as it is called in *Bede*, iii. 9, the battle of Maserfield.

(About A.D. 655.) The kings of the Britons, who went out with Penda, or Pantha, to the city of Abret Iuden, or "Redemption of the Jews", were slain. The locality, by *Bede*, iii. 24, is called the banks of the Winwed, by others, Inchkeith, or Camelon, near Stirling. Catgaibal, king of Gwynedd, or, as we are here to understand, of the southern Cumbria, or Cumberland, escaped, having withdrawn with his forces in the night: whence he was called Catgaibal Catgommed, which was a play of words upon his name; for whereas Catgaibal (Cad-gafael) implies "Battle-maintainer", so Catgommed means "Battle-avoider".

Respecting the town named Abret Iuden, there seems no sufficient explanation. *Bede*, i. 12, speaks of a Giudi

in the middle of the Roman wall, which would appear to be Carlisle. Jews might have lived there, and have been particularly protected; or it might have been some other place.

(About A.D. 658.) Catguallart, king of the Britons, slew Pantha, or Penda, king of the Mercians, at the battle of Gai. This appears very differently narrated by *Bede*, iii. 24.

(About A.D. 664.) Catguallart, king of the Britons, dies of a great pestilence, which occurs in the reign of Oswy, king of Northumberland. According to the *Annales Cambriæ*, he died of a plague which occurred in the year 682.

(About A.D. 685.) Echgfrid, king of Bernicia, is totally defeated and slain by his uncle Birdei, king of the Picts, after which the Picts cease to pay tribute to the Saxons.

The Genealogies likewise, among which these historical memoranda are interspersed, themselves afford considerable materials to the chronologist. We may add, that they seem to be the production of a Briton, and to be written with British feeling, as an expression of animosity to the Saxons occasionally breaks forth, who are called "Ambrones", or marauders. These Genealogies do not occur in all the copies of Nennius; and in one copy, in Corpus Christi library, Cambridge, Nennius intimates that he would have used materials of this kind more largely, but that his master (qu. abbot?), Benlan, wished him to desist, since, as applying to the pagans, he thought them useless. Most moderns, however, will rather coincide with the boy Nennius, the conventual novice, than with his superior, in thinking that such memoranda should be preserved: indeed, we find that similar genealogies are supplied by Florence of Worcester, Simeon of Durham, and others; but it is but justice to say that there are none which give so much original information relating to British affairs as those of Nennius, limited though they be.

The Genealogies tell us incidentally that Cunedag and his sons left the northern parts of Britain, Manaw Guotodin (Manys a race), or the Otodini, one hundred and forty-six years before the reign of Mailcun (Maelgwyn Gwynedd).

However, a word or two as to the date and probable origin of these compositions. The Genealogies are carried down to the respective dates, as under :

Kings of Kent, to the year . . .	674
Kings of the East Angles, to . .	664
Kings of the Mercians, to . . .	716
Kings of Deira and Bernicia, to .	738.

All these genealogies, except one, begin from Woden; and we know that the same, being the genealogy of Hengist, would have done so too, had the earlier parts of it been given. What are we to conceive is meant by this? In answer it is to be replied, that it is a point clearly explained by the analogy of the ancient British coinage. (See the *Coins of Cunobeline*, p. 222, *et alibi*.) We may understand, in fact, from this, that it was common for the kings of ancient Saxony, at that time, to take the name of their favourite god. We have several similar instances among the early Celtic kings of Britain.

The historian, Hume, who once had some considerable reputation, but who was no archæologist, and who did not understand this point, launches forth some contemptuous remarks against the barbarism and credulity of the Saxons for their believing, as he in good faith supposed, that the ancestor, in the fourth generation, of Hengist, was the god Woden, or the Teutonic Mars. (See his *History of England*, 8vo., 1767, vol. i. pp. 18 and 60.) It is singular that he should have forgotten what he must have read, that Diocletian was named Jovius, and Maximinian, Hercules, in the polished days of the Roman empire; and are often so mentioned by historians: which are precisely cases in point, to say nothing of the analogy of the ancient British coinage before alluded to, with which we may easily suppose he was unacquainted. In another passage, he pronounces the international wars among the Saxons as of no more signification than the conflicts between crows and kites. But, much as all war is to be deplored, the ultimate result of the aggregate of those wars, was the ascendancy of Egbert, and the bringing England under one head; which has ever been an important circumstance in the flux of events, in placing this country in its present position. Had the ascendancy not been acquired, there seems no imaginable reason why it was not possible that the Teutonic tribes in Great Britain might have ultimately settled down in separate states, as they have done in Germany.

However, to continue with our Genealogies. We may

observe that, as they, as far as they apply to Britain, begin with the Saxon arrival, so they relate to this island for about two hundred and twenty-five years. Now, imagine the pedigrees and successions of the English sovereigns for any two hundred and twenty-five years of our English history, to be drawn up in one narrative, as a species of school-boy's exercise; the said narrative to comprise all their offspring, as well those that succeeded them, as those who did not; and, with this, some few of their acts to be mentioned, and some especial battles of their times; and then, further, suppose the whole detail to be copied and recopied a number of times, till errors have become exceedingly multiplied,—and a true idea may be formed of the motley mass which these fragments supply to us. Yet, in this heterogeneous mixture are contained many lines of British history of which there is no trace elsewhere.

We must conclude that Nennius had the pedigrees before him, as well as a history of the times, to account for the confused way in which these genealogies and successions of princes have come down to us; and that, in his transcriptions and abridgments of the two, he mixed some portions of both together.

His historical authority seems to have been very particular and minute, as it gives the original division of the province of the Brigantes into two portions, and their re-union; notes when Mercia became independent; explains matters frequently more in detail, and more clearly, than in Bede, or other writers; and frequently adds collateral anecdotes omitted by others. It varies from Bede, the authors of the *Saxon Chronicle*, and other writers in the Saxon interest, in bringing the British princes on the stage of events.

Though, as has been observed, there are indications that the original document used by Nennius was written by a Briton, as is obvious from the British feeling visible in it, yet he seems to have compiled it from Saxon memoranda, or partially so, as appears from the numerous allusions to Saxon affairs. However, though this may have been the case, yet it is quite evident that there is not the slightest trace of the original in any work which is now extant, Saxon or British. It was not identical with Bede's *History*, nor with the *Saxon Chronicle*, nor with Ethelwerd, or Flo-

rence of Worcester, or with any of the narratives which take the *Saxon Chronicle* for their basis. Nor does it in the least agree with Tysilio's *History*, or with the original history, now lost, from which the *Triads* have been formed, as will be seen by a comparison with *Triads* 28, 35, 45, and 80, which treat of corresponding events with the Genealogies. In short, it is clear that it was a composition distinct from any of which we have knowledge, and appears to have been one of fairness and value. Among other things, we may observe, it did not neglect the literature of the country; for it treated of the poets who have been most famous in the earlier part of the Middle Ages; and, as it places Talhaiarn at the head of the bards, who was connected with Strathclyde, it may be presumed that the author of the lost history was connected with Strathclyde too. From its having been an independent narrative, we have a series of names of places which vary from any that are elsewhere mentioned. These particulars seem obvious, though the document itself has utterly perished.

ON THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE WORK KNOWN AS THE HISTORY OF NENNIUS.

There seems an opening for some inquiries on this head, more than have hitherto been made. In particular, the two ancient prefaces, or prologues, attached to the work, may be examined. Afterwards, we may revert to some other particulars. We may give the two prologues in a translated form, which will run thus:

THE GREATER PROLOGUE.

NENNIUS, the humble minister and servant of the servants of Christ, and, by the grace of God, a disciple of St. Elbodus, sendeth health to all that hear and obey the truth.

Be it known to your benevolent minds, that, though uncultivated in understanding, and unpolished in my language, and not, indeed, relying on my own attainments, which are either none at all, or very trifling, I have presumed, nevertheless, to deliver over and appropriate these the contents of my history to the use ("Latinorum auribus idiomatizando tradere") of those of the Latin communion.

In regard to this commencing passage of his prologue, we fully concur in the principles laid down by the Honble. A. Herbert, in his edition of the *Irish Nennius, Introduction*,

p. 8, that Nennius does not mean to say that he was personally the disciple of St. Elbodus, but that he only adopted his rule and doctrine, Elbodus having been known as being mainly instrumental in bringing Cambria into the Latin communion. He accepted, indeed, in the year 762, the archbishopric of North Wales from the Pope, and contributed greatly to the termination of the contest respecting Easter, which continued altogether one hundred and twenty-eight years; the repugnance of the Cambrians, after his time, gradually subsiding. Nennius, then, in the first sentence of the prologue, proclaims himself of the Latin communion; and in the second sentence, that he had prepared a history of Britain intended solely for the reading of his confederates in the same tenets. He goes on to say:

I have collected the materials of my history partly from the traditions of our ancestors (majorum), partly from writings (scriptis), partly from the documents (monumentis) of the ancient inhabitants of Britain, partly from the annals of the Romans, and, besides, from the chronicles of the holy fathers; that is to say, Isidore, Jerome, Prosper, Eusebius; as also from the histories of the Scots and Saxons, though our enemies. My task has been performed, not as I should have wished, but as I could; and what I have done, has been in obedience to the commands of my seniors. Thus I have collected together this little history from every quarter, prater as I am; and bashfully and timidly I have provided for the handing down to posterity a short summary of deeds performed; collecting them like ears of corn (spicas actuum), lest, being trampled under foot, they should be entirely lost. A similar, but more ample harvest has been aforesaid snatched away, on different occasions (spar-sim), by the inimical reapers of foreign nations.

Great light is thrown on the *History* of Nennius by the foregoing passage. It appears from it, that the work was a species of joint-stock concern, concocted in one of the monasteries of Wales; and, as it may very naturally be supposed, in some great and important one. Nennius now appears in his true character, as a monk and diligent scribe of the monastery, who was employed to collect materials for a species of history, or historical sketch, of Britain; for the Latin Church had now gained the ascendancy in the island, and they required a history written in their own interest, wishing to discountenance all bardic and other histories, of which Britain then possessed its share, as can be clearly shown. (See *Britannic Researches*, pp. 51, 290, *et alibi.*) This will then be found such a history, in all respects, as they wanted; one in

which the monastic community had a mutual interest ; and our prologue being evidently in a different style of writing from the body of the work, we have only to suppose it was supplied, not by Nennius, but by some other member of the monastic body, who might be desirous of aiding the work.

But it may be said that there is the same parade and profession in the prologue, as if Nennius had compiled the original work of Marcus, instead of having merely transcribed the same, and made some trifling additions to it, which we now know was all he did. (See Gunn's *Nennius*, 8vo., 1819, p. 26 ; and the *Dublin edition*, from Galic manuscripts, 4to., Dublin, 1847, *Introduction*, p. 18.) This is granted ; but there are said to be very similar instances in the literature of the Middle Ages ; and we know not how far the preface writer knew that the compilation was a transcript of a former production.

Regarding other matters of information, or surmise, which the preceding passage may suggest to us, we may note that the *Annals of the Romans* mentioned, may be those of the Roman Britons (see Gunn's *Nennius*, pp. 48, 59, 145) ; and that it is uncertain whether, by the annals of the Scots, he means, in reality, of the Caledonians, or of the Irish, or of both. The name of the two races, in early medieval times, was the same.

The meaning of the prologue writer, when he speaks of the harvest of history of the island snatched away by inimical foreign reapers, is of course obscure. Two conjectures may be hazarded upon it : (1), that he speaks of annals which the Roman Britons, considered as Romans, may have written ; and (2) that he alludes to annals written by the Saxons, of the nature of the *Saxon Chronicle*,—a primary Saxon chronicle, in fact, which might have formed a nucleus, or basis, of that larger and more complete work which Alfred caused to be compiled afterwards. However, to continue with the prologue :

Wherefore, I have had to contend with many obstacles ; and I who profess myself scarcely able to understand, even superficially, as I ought to do, the instructions of others (dictamina), still less possessing any genius of my own, like a rude and unpolished person have disparaged the language of others. Nevertheless, my breast has been inwardly dilacerated lest the name of my nation, once so known and distinguished, should sink into oblivion, and vanish like a mere vapour. Thus I had

rather be the historian of Britain, than that there should be none at all; and as there are many who could better acquit themselves of this labour, which has been ordered me to do (*injunctum*), I humbly intreat my readers who may be offended at the uncouthness of my style, to excuse it, as they are bound to do, as I am only obeying the wishes of my superiors. Many may fail who only use feeble endeavours; whilst, as for me, success is secured, as far as ardour will command it. But may kind favour do that for me which I cannot accomplish by any beauties of style; and may thus truth not be disdained from my mouth, on account of its rusticity. I say it is better to imbibe a true narrative, as it were, out of a rude and homely vessel, than to be drenched with the poison of falsehood, mixed with the honey of a specious eloquence, out of a golden cup.

The prologue writer, who, in the above passage, personates Nennius, appears to speak of him as a mere youth, who had not yet completed his education; a youth to whom a task had been assigned by the seniors of his monastery, of compiling an account of his country from certain historical writings and documents, which he, as a young Briton, zealous for his nation's honour, seems to have entered upon with ardour. To this agree the verses in the Cambridge copy, F. f. i. 27, in which Nennius is represented as a Samuel, or attendant, to Benlan, which name implies the "caput fani", or abbot. (See *Britannic Researches*, p. 154.) In one copy he is said to consult with the said Benlan as to what he should insert in the text. (*Ibid.* p. 185.) We therefore conclude that Nennius wrote this history during his noviciate at an abbey in Wales, to which he is usually supposed to have belonged. We now again continue with this prologue or preface:

Nor mayest thou regret, diligent reader, having separated the grains of history from the chaff of words, to be able to deposit them in the storehouse of memory. It is not of importance who may be the narrator, or what may be the style of the narrative, so much as that what shall be said be true. Nor is a jewel less prized for having laid in the mire, since, being wiped and cleaned, it may be replaced in a casket.

I yield, moreover, to those that are greater and more eloquent than me, who, kindled into a benign ardour, have endeavoured to bring into the full sweep of Roman eloquence (literally, "*verriculo*", i. e. sweep-net) the irregular material of our jarring dialect. I only bargain that they should leave unshaken the column of history (the column of truth), which I have determined myself to preserve.

It is highly probable that he alludes, in this somewhat enigmatical passage, to the *Chronicle, or History of Tysilio*, which may be judged to have had a first publication, ending with the death of Cadwalader, which appears to be lost; and the second edition, which we now have, only

to have come down to us. This *History* of Tysilio is indeed elegantly written, but is not remarkable for truth. Were there this first edition, it would have been already published in 840, which was the date of this prologue. (See *Miscellanea Britannica*, 8vo., 1855, p. 26.)

We have thus completed our task with the idea of benefiting our weaker ones (so), and of doing nought invidious to our superiors, in the year of the Dominical Incarnation eight hundred and fifty-eight, and in the twenty-fourth year of Mervin, king of the Britons; and I request, for my reward, to be recompensed by the prayers of my superiors (in the convent). The preceding observations will be sufficient for a preliminary: suppliant obedience shall do the rest.

With regard to the chronology given in the last paragraph: there were two Mervins, one, Mervin Vrych, king of the Britons, who reigned twenty-six years, from the year 817 to 843; the other, king of North Wales only, and reigning fifteen years, from 877 to 892. This would make the date of our prologue 840; but the earliest manuscript, that of the Cambridge University library, which now contains it, is of the end of the twelfth, or beginning of the thirteenth century. The dates of various other ancient editions of Nennius vary, it appears, on examination, from the year 822 to 946.

In remark on the Greater Prologue, we may truly say, when its contents are of the above nature: Have the many critics who speak contemptuously of it, ever taken the pains to translate it, and ascertain its meaning?

THE LESSER PROLOGUE.

This is indited thus:

I, NENNIUS, the disciple of St. Elbodius, have been diligent to write certain Extracts of history, which the dulness of the British nation had neglected, because they were unskilful, and had recorded nothing of such knowledge of the island of Britain in books. I, however, have collected together all that I could find, as well from the *Annals* of the Romans as the *Chronicles* of the sacred fathers, that is, of Jerome, Eusebius, Isidore, and Prosper; and from the *Annals* of the Scots and Saxons; as also from the traditions of our ancients. Many teachers (qu. ecclesiastics and book-compilers, *librarii*) have endeavoured to write such a history; and I know not from what difficulties they may have relinquished the undertaking, except from the frequent mortalities occasioned by pestilence, and from often recurring defeats in war. I entreat that every reader of the book will pardon me, that I have dared, as a chattering bird, or imperfect performer, after such persons of eminence (namely Eusebius, Jerome, and the others mentioned) to record these things. However, be

it understood, that I yield to him, whoever he may be, who possesses more knowledge of these things than myself.

Such are the two prologues. And the question may now be asked, whether it is probable that Nennius wrote either of them? which we may answer at once in the negative. We may see from the first prologue, taken in connexion with the way in which he speaks of himself in c. 66, as compiling his *History* under the superintendence of Benlan, the "caput fani", or abbot, that he could have been but young. The same appears yet more strongly by a further passage, c. 3, standing earlier in the *History*, in which he describes himself ("ego) Samuel, infans magistri mei, id est, Benlani presbyteri". In English, "I, Samuel, the infant of my master, that is, of Benlan the priest." He then styles himself the "Samuel" of Benlan, in other words, his religious *élève*; the idea being apparently taken from the Samuel and Eli of the Old Testament. See also the ancient verses, as in the Cambridge University MS., F. f. i. 27, addressed to the same Benlan by Nennius, in which the like idea of pupil and teacher appears to be carried out; and for some remarks on the said verses, see *Britannic Researches*, pp. 184-185. On the whole, it may be concluded that he was but a youth; and, as we may judge, about seventeen or eighteen years of age.

Having these data, we shall scarcely form any other opinion, but that both the prologues were written for him by some members of his monastic community, who were desirous to show that they cooperated in the work. Here we may have some safe and conclusive grounds to go upon.

Receiving this as a fixed point, we should say that the shorter one, which is in a style harsh and barbarous, was produced first; of which the longer one, though it be lively and sentimental, is merely an amplification of it in a better dress. It is, in fact, nothing else than a species of *jeu d'esprit*, and, as such, the effusion of some more polished associate in the convent. The two have nearly the same contents, as has been said; but the longer prologue speaks more explicitly of the existence of documental and historical evidences of ancient Britain; which the shorter only implies, or, according to some, omits. But this point will require to be somewhat examined, whether it does so, or not.

The shorter prologue makes a specific complaint of the dulness of the Britons, that they had not recorded their early history in books; but the Irish Nennius, which gives the shorter prologue, entirely qualifies this, and informs us that the historical matters neglected by the dulness of the Britons, were ethnological accounts of their origin, the passage there being, "Because the folly and ignorance of the nation of Britannia have given to oblivion the history and origin of the first people." (*Irish Nennius*, p. 25.) The author, besides, appears afterwards to quote the *Annals* of the Britons, under the name of *Experimenta* (c. 12); and we have also the *Annals* of the Romans, of which we have before explained the import, occurring in both prologues. According, then, even to the shorter prologue, the ancient Britons were not without historical documents: indeed, William of Malmesbury, in his *History*, quotes the *Gesta Britonum* and *Scripta Seniorum*, probably the same as the *Experimenta*; and there is much reason to suppose that the account of St. Germanus by Marcus may have been partially compiled from the ecclesiastical record called the *Literæ Catholicæ Britannicæ*. (See Stevenson's *Nennius*, p. xiv.)

There must have been some very peculiar circumstances to have given the very extensive, and, indeed, unlimited currency to the work of Nennius, which it possessed. We are told (see the *Irish Nennius*, *Introduction*, p. 18) that it was only a species of enlarged edition, made after the lapse of about eighteen years, of a prior work written by a British bishop named Marcus, who resided some considerable time in Ireland. The fact seems sufficiently established; and we have likewise seen it ascertained, at a shortly preceding page, that this edition was made by a youth, possibly not more than about seventeen years old, as he is called "infans". These things appear to have been so; and yet the copies of it were multiplied to an extraordinary degree, so that when the original work itself, that of Marcus (now known as the Vatican copy, and Gunn's edition) was transcribed in the year 946, additions were made to it from the subsequent work of Nennius (see the *Irish Nennius*, *Introduction*, p. 18); and all the three copies used in forming the Dublin edition, it seems, had been translated from it. (*Ibid.* p. ix—xi.) But there is a fourth Irish copy, which formerly belonged to Sir William Betham, and is

still not edited. (*Ibid.* p. x.) In short, the great success of this work seems to have driven all preceding histories then current out of use, so that they have become entirely lost to us.

Why was this? Ostensibly because this work seems to have had, first, the sanction of some considerable monastery; and, secondly, the whole patronage of the Latin Church. Thus we can easily imagine that the others would have gradually fallen into disfavour, and at length disappeared.

The inedited manuscript copy of Nennius, mentioned as above, is a portion of the Book of Hy-many, a collection of Irish histories; and is at present in the possession of the Earl of Ashburnham, of Ashburnham House, near Battle, Sussex, who is stated to decline his manuscripts being consulted for literary purposes.

We should not omit to notice the circumstance, that many of the manuscripts of our author have the name of Gildas in their title or heading, and notify nothing concerning Marcus or Nennius. This seems to afford a fair basis for supposing that even Marcus was not the original composer, but took his ethnological particulars, at least, from the earlier writer Gildas; and how much more we know not. Hence, as the work of Gildas remained long extant, he might have been believed to be the author of this history from many of his literary materials being recognized; but, though we mention this to obviate difficulties and objections, yet we will go no higher for the authorship of the work than Marcus, as being the original composer; referring to the proofs adduced in the *Introduction* to the Irish edition, and considering them sufficient for all practical purposes.

We have the advantage of three editions of Nennius, each essentially distinct: I., that of the Vatican manuscript, which formed Mr. Gunn's text, at present a unique copy; II., the various manuscript editions of Nennius, usually so called; and III., the Irish text from Galic manuscripts.

The most genuine original text is undoubtedly that of the Vatican manuscript, which bears strong evidences of being nearly in the state in which it was as at first written by Marcus, the Irish bishop, though with the additions

from the later work of Nennius we have mentioned. The text called that of Nennius, is varied much, at places, from the Vatican manuscript; being sometimes amplified, sometimes contracted: besides the additions of certain other portions united to the work, as the Wonders of Britain, the Genealogies, List of Chapters, etc. The Irish text, which is highly important and illustrative, is formed from some manuscript of the Nennian edition not now extant. For instance, it has the Nennian text excessively abridged at places, but generally without the omission of any material circumstance; at other times it is amplified exceedingly, and introduces a variety of additional and highly illustrative particulars of information, which gives reason to suppose that the work of Nennius, or that of Marcus, or both, once existed in a much dilated form. But the amplified part, we should say, bears rather the impress of the style of Marcus than that of Nennius.

We have not entered into the chain of reasoning, as in the *Introduction* to the *Irish Nennius*, to show that Marcus was the author of the original edition now known. Suffice it to say, that his name stands in the heading of the work, and that Heric of Auxerre, in his *Life of St. Germanus*, informs us that Marcus, the British bishop, recounted various of his acts. The original date of the work of Marcus, according to the said *Introduction*, is supposed to be noted in certain of the manuscripts, where the chronology, ostensibly, of the time of writing is brought down to the fourth year of Mervin, or to 820. Twenty years afterwards the first Nennian edition appeared, according to the Greater Prologue, which gives the date of the twenty-fourth year of Mervin. (See before.) This was published under the superintendence of the abbot Benlan, and the convent. Nennius made additions *ad libitum* of the Genealogies, Wonders of Britain, etc., etc.; and we find that the Genealogies were partly omitted, in one copy, by the desire of Benlan (c. 66). The abbot also himself transcribed one copy, for which Nennius addressed him, in acknowledgment thereof, in certain monkish rhymes, "Formiter qui digitis scripsit," etc., etc. Nennius not only hesitated to admit the Saxon Genealogies, but also scrupled with regard to one other genealogy, in c. 3, applying to the mythical period of Roman history; and which he thought

was not sufficiently connected with the Britons. As subsequent editions were propagated, all mention of Benlan was left out, as well as the verses in which Nennius had endeavoured to do honour to his name. The shorter prologue seems to have been inserted indifferently to some editions. One copy, that of the Cambridge University Library, as before said, has them both; and there is no reason whatever to suppose that the shorter one is not equally ancient as the other. They are both highly interesting pieces of medieval literature.

THE ANCIENT BRITISH HISTORY ENTITLED "DE EXCIDIO
BRITANNIÆ", AND ITS AUTHOR.

This history, though obscure, is very important, in order to understand the early state of our island, civil and ecclesiastical. Ask Bede whether he considered it important, who referred much to it. Indeed, from it we know of the first introduction of Christianity into the island; and of the persecution and martyrdom of many of its professors about a century and a half afterwards. But, though this historical work be of interest, nevertheless there have been some doubts as to the authorship of it. It has been attributed to two persons, Gildas Albanus, and another Gildas, called Gildas Badonicus, whose biographies both require attending to. We will accordingly begin with the prior of them, the first named; the account of whom, as far as it illustrates his reputed literary works, will be as follows:

GILDAS ALBANUS.

We find him mentioned in the work of Ponticus Virunius, which is a species of sketch of ancient British history, based on the *Chronicle* of Geoffrey of Monmouth, with occasional additions from the researches of the author, derived from sources not now accessible. This Gildas and another ancient of the same name, are both mentioned by Ponticus Virunius; and those passages in this author are requisite to be brought forward, as an examination of them will afford some decisive conclusions. They are to be found at pp. 2, 4, 7, 10, 28 bis, 29, 31, 32, and 43, of Powel's edition, 12mo., 1582, of Ponticus Virunius, and

will receive due attention in the sequel ; but as the majority of the passages refer to an epic poem, we must first make that a somewhat especial topic in order to render our remarks intelligible.

THE "CAMBREIS", OR "BRITANNIA", THE EPIC
POEM OF GILDAS ALBANIUS.

It is clear that Ponticus Virunnius regarded the poem in hexameter and pentameter verse, of which fragments are given in Geoffrey of Monmouth and John de Fordun, as being the history of Gildas, which has been considered of so much celebrity ; and that the name of it was the *Cambreis*. It is equally clear that this author constantly speaks of the same history and the same Gildas throughout, except in one instance, in which he speaks of the other Gildas ("alter Gildas"), and of his work, the *De Excidio*; bating this, the other nine passages apply to the *Cambreis* and its author. It must be explained, however, that Ponticus Virunnius, in reference to certain passages of the poem, calls them "Epigrams". To this we must observe, that he does not use the word in the limited sense in which we are accustomed to express ourselves, when we say the epigrams of this or that author ; but he appears to speak of the said extracts or passages as being written in epigrammatic metre, that is, in hexameters and pentameters, as aforesaid : the epigrams of Propertius and others being very commonly written in it. Much in the same way, Lilio Gregorio Gyraldo (see Robert's *Tysilio*, p. 195) calls it an elegiac poem ("elegiarum carmen") because, as it would appear, the same metre was frequently styled elegiac. We thus clear away some of the encumbrances of our subject, which tended to render it obscure. But, besides this, it is further necessary to set forth clearly and distinctly, that we have only one historical poem of Gildas, the same *Cambreis* of which we have made mention. We identify this as the sole historical poem passing under the name of this author ; and we reject the idea of any second to it, indited by him, as some have thought. We have been, as it will be seen, careful to point out that the terms *Cambreis*, *Liber Epigrammaton*, and *Carmen Elegiarum*, do not necessarily imply separate and distinct poems, as some

may have been inclined to suppose, but are one and the same literary production.

However, we must say a word or two as to the genuineness of the poem ; and we will accordingly bring to notice how well its ostensible date coincides in reality with the era in which we suppose its author to have lived. It would appear to have been written before the age of the Troubadours, from the extract given of it in Roberts' *Tysilio*, p. 195, from the Wynnstay manuscript ; as it is evident from that extract, that it affects an imitation of the classics, which, indeed, is tolerably well sustained. The verses are :

Bruti posteritas Albanis associata
Anglica regna premet peste, labore, nece,
Regnabunt Britones Albanæ gentis amici,
Cum Scotis Britones propria regna regent, etc.

In English : "The posterity of Brutus, in league with the Britons of Strathclyde, shall bear hard upon the kingdoms of the Anglo-Saxons with plague, toil, and death (and thus) the Britons of the south shall reign ascendant, in friendship with those of Caledonia : (and with regard to Hibernia) the Britons and the Irish shall each confine themselves to their own proper kingdoms": that is, shall not any more invade each other. Again, the same passage will show it to have been written before the year 751, as the Strathclyde kingdom, from the tenor of it, must have been then in its vigour : indeed, the league there referred to may be judged to be the one which, as far as chronicle evidence goes, we may understand was first made between the Caledonian and Southern Britons about the year 487. The Irish, in these verses, are called "Scoti", which was their name in times of remote antiquity. .

Having before said that this historical poem is what is called the history of Gildas, it may be as well to say that it amounts to a species of proof that this said work of Gildas actually was a metrical history, inasmuch as all the passages alleged to be quoted from it are in Latin verse, and none, in any instance, in prose.

We will likewise here briefly note a circumstance which, perhaps, may not be entirely without interest, that our *Cambreis*, or metrical history, appears to have formed in part the basis, but by no means entirely, of a work usually reputed of very mysterious origin, that is, of the *Chronicle*

of Tysilio; and our argument is this: The two previous British histories to that of Tysilio were (1), that in the eighth century, from which, arguing from induction (see *Britannic Researches*, p. 289), we collect that the historical documents called the *Triads* were composed; and (2), the *History* of Marcus, written in the year 822 (*Ibid.*, p. 182). Now the *History* or *Chronicle* of Tysilio, which, in the form in which it is come down to us, dates about the year 1000 (*Ibid.*, p. 195), coincides with the *Cambreis* in exclusively adopting the Trojan theory of the origin of the Britons, which is not received in the *Triads*, and only slightly alluded to in Marcus; so there is reason to suppose that it was partially, at least, composed from it.

There is no need to say that historical poems are almost invariably worked up from prose narratives; but here we presume the very rare reverse, an alleged prose history, as that of Tysilio, based on an historical poem. But there may be a very obvious reason. Tysilio wrote after the era of the Troubadours had commenced, when fiction was at a premium, embellishment the great desideratum, and the age daily becoming more and more indifferent as to matters of fact.

We will now enter somewhat further upon the topic of this poem, as far as the few extant relics of it enable us, observing that it is not impossible that it may still continue in existence in the recesses of some of the numerous libraries of the continent of Europe.

One thing we know with sufficient certainty, that the long line of ancient British kings before the time of Cæsar, which Tysilio has, was not in the poem of Gildas. Geoffrey of Monmouth tells us expressly, in his preface, that neither Gildas had this line nor Bede: indeed we know the same from other writers. Apparently, then, Tysilio added this line from metrical genealogies, like those mentioned in the *Irish Nennius*, and from the historical ballads of those times resembling the originals of *Ossian*, whence very abundant materials might have been supplied; but which there is scarce need to say might be expected to be of a somewhat vague description.

Lilio Gregorio Gyrardo, one of the literati of the latter part of the Middle Ages, read this work of Gildas in the fifteenth century; but Ponticus Virunnus, who perused

it somewhat later and towards the end of the same century, appears to have been the last modern who saw it. The nine references, of which we have before spoken, are given us by him, to show us what details this author supplied to Geoffrey of Monmouth's History, and therefore are the more illustrative. The scheme, structure, and general contents of this poem of the CAMBREIS are pretty evident from Ponticus Virunnius, and we may give a sketch of it *in extenso*, as under.

BOOK I.—*The Trojan Myth.* BOOK II.—*The Prophecy in the days of Rhiwallon.* BOOK III.—*The Molmutian Laws.* BOOK IV.—*The Contention between Ludd, king of Britain, and Nennius, or Nynyaw his brother, regarding the name of London.* BOOK V.—*The Roman Invasion, including the Legend of Arviragus ;* and BOOK VI.—*The Saxon Invasion.*

Various verses of the poem, in a very classical style, may be found in the usual copies of Geoffrey of Monmouth's Chronicle, at the beginning : as also in Roberts' edition of Tysilio, pp. 17, 18, 195, and 196, and a few further detached lines in Ponticus Virunnius, at page 28 ; and in all cases the style is not only classical, as above observed, with little exception, but also remarkable for that peculiar animation and vividness of expression noticeable in Taliesin and Aneurin, and which without doubt pervaded the whole poem. This epic, though written in hexameters and pentameters, was obviously intended to be a close imitation of the *Æneid* in style as also in several parts of the story. Thus we have the reference to the Trojan myth, in which a poetical origin from Æneas was assigned to the Britons ; a prophecy of the union of the Strathclyde Britons and Cambrians, which was a kind of parallel to the prophecy respecting Rome in *Æneid*, vi. 756-886 ; and the war of the Britons and Saxons, a parallel with that of the Trojans in Latium. The episode of Arviragus and Genuissa in the war with the Romans, seems intended, though of course with much variety in the incidents, as a kind of counterpart to that of Æneas and Lavinia in the *Æneid*. Does the reader inquire what was the general purpose of the poem ? It seems evident that it was intended to cement more firmly the union then subsisting between the Cambrians of Caledonia and the Cambrians of Britain, and to animate them in their resistance against the Anglo-Saxons.

However, we will now notice, *seriatim*, the references in Ponticus Virunnius to the poem and its author, as, in fact, he is the only person who has given us any sort of account of it.

Page 2. He cites the following passage relating to the Trojan myth, which is also found in the *Chronicle* of Geoffrey of Monmouth. Brutus is supposed to speak—

Divā potens nemorum terror silvestribus apris,
Cui licet anfractus ire per æthereos
Infernasque Domus, terrestria jura resolve,
Et dic quas terras nos habitare velis,
Dic certam sedem, quā te venerabor in ævum,
Quā tibi virgineis templa dicabo choris.

The answer :

Brute, sub occasu solis trans Gallica regna
Insula in Oceano est undique clausa mari,
Insula in Oceano est habitata Gigantibus olim,
Nunc deserta quidem gentibus apta tuis :
Hanc pete, namque tibi sedes erit illa perennis.
Hic fiet natis altera Troja tuis,
Hic de prole tuā reges nascentur, et ipsis
Totius terræ subditus orbis erit.

The remark of Ponticus Virunnius is, “The verses are of Gildas, a most distinguished British poet, who lived *about* the time of the Emperor Claudius Augustus,” etc., i.e., Romulus Augustulus (see *Britannic Researches*, p. 167) ; with whom indeed Gildas Albanus, or the elder Gildas, in the earlier part of his life was contemporary (*Ibid.* p. 166). These verses of Gildas have been elegantly translated into English by Mr. Pope, and we may give his lines as follows :—

Application, poetically feigned, of Brutus, on his voyage to Britain, to the Pagan oracle at Legetta (Leucadia), for supernatural direction.

Goddess of woods, tremendous in the chace
To mountain boars and all the savage race,
Wide o'er th' ethereal walks extends thy sway,
And o'er th' infernal mansions void of day,
On thy third realm look down, unfold our fate,
And say what region is our destined seat.
Where shall we next thy lasting temples raise,
And choirs of virgins celebrate thy praise ?

Response in the same strain of the Pagan oracle :

Brutus, there lies beyond the Gallic bounds
An island which the western sea surrounds :

By giants once possess'd ; now few remain
 To bar thy entrance, or obstruct thy reign.
 To reach that happy shore thy sails employ ;
 There fate decrees to raise a second Troy,
 And found an empire in thy royal line,
 Which time shall ne'er destroy, nor bounds confine.

Mr. Pope's translation, we may observe, is written in his usual flowing style : and we may pronounce as to the Latin verses themselves that they attain almost to the summit of poetical excellence. They are written on a principle still perseveringly followed at Eton of introducing two or three words in each line from verses in Virgil, which will not fail to impart a certain smoothness, however lifeless the thoughts may be. Here, however, the conceptions are well sustained, and the imagery as well as the harmonious composition kept up to the Virgilian standard. Some have thought these verses a forgery of Geoffrey of Monmouth : but he did not adopt this style, as the following specimen of his versification from his *Vita Merlini*, verses 983-6, will show—

Crimen quod memini cùm Constans proditus esset,
 Et diffugissent parvi trans æquora fratres
 Uther et Ambrosius. Cœperunt illico bella
 Per regnum fieri, quòd tunc rectore carebant.

Which lines, it will be admitted, have not the Virgilian touch.

Page 4. He, speaking of the legend of the contention between Ludd and Nennius regarding the name of London, says he enters not upon the subject, as it had been treated of at length by Gildas the famous poet and historian. Tysilio and Geoffrey of Monmouth also refer to the point in question.

Page 7. Speaking of the prophecy (see above), he says that Gildas had treated of it in a fine epigram. Various lines of this part of the poem are given by John de Fordun, and by the Wynnstay manuscript of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Chronicle* at the end, which, from their variation, show the text is corrupted in this part : the four first lines seem only to be depended upon, beginning "Bruti posteritas, etc.," which we have already inserted at a preceding page. Geoffrey of Monmouth does not give the verses in his *History*, assigning as a reason, according to some copies, that he put no faith in the prophecy. (See Roberts'

Tysilio, p. 39.) But another reason might have been that he preferably adopted the prophecy of Merlin instead, as applying to later times.

Page 10. He mentions Gildas described as the historian and noble poet, and as the translator of the Molmutian laws. Tysilio and Geoffrey of Monmouth also make the same assertion. We are not, strictly speaking, informed that the translation was part of the poem: but it may be inferred from the connexion in which Virunnius speaks of the translator that it was.

Page 28, *bis*. Virunnius informs us that Gildas the poet calls the (supposed) daughter of Claudius Inuenissa, but that her name was actually Gennissa. In the same page, he informs us that Gildas, the famous British poet, in his fifth book of *Epigrams* (i.e., hexameters and pentameters, see before), had given an account of the marriage of Arviragus and Inuenissa (or Gennissa), and of the building of Gloucester, and of its being named after the emperor Claudius. However, he informs us, in some lines which are given rather in a broken form, that the poet affects to reproach his lyre for passing on to another topic.

Sambuca ——— tu ruis ex Venere,
Nunc tibi vilescit ——— omnidasituus ———

That is O harp! thou leavest this love subject, and now thy whole diapason becomes abased. To which a reply of the harp is feigned that it had supplied him with the whole poem

Jucundæ toties cecini tibi carmina Cambres.

The Cambres in this line probably should be Cambris, for

Page 29. Ponticus Virunnius informs us he regards Cambre to be the same as Britannia; and the term used to imply *Liber Britannicus*, that is the British book or any British book; but in this case this poem of Gildas in particular.

Page 31. He informs us that Gildas had related many things respecting Lucius.

In page 32. He speaks of the other Gildas, author of the *De Excidio* (alter Gildas), and lastly,

Page 43. He acquaints us that Gildas the famous poet had narrated many things generally concerning Britain.

Such was the poem of the *Cambreis*, the *Liber Britannicus*

of the day, when the name Cambria imported all that existed in the island, whether in the north or the south, which was most potent in resisting the Anglo-Saxon aggression. There is no line of British kings before Cæsar, as already observed, mentioned in the *Cambreis*; and Geoffrey, as also before specified, particularly informs us there was not. Henry of Huntingdon tells us the same thing in his *De Origine*. (See *Britannic Researches*, p. 209.)

We have before alluded to the topic of the *Cambreis* as being a metrical history, and we need only further observe that it seems evidently to have passed for such with Ponticus Virunnius; and we have every reason to believe it did so unreservedly among all readers in the Middle Ages. We have supposed, at a preceding page, that it suggested the groundwork of Tysilio's *Chronicle*, which, if so, must be an additional proof of the influence it once possessed. Henry of Huntingdon, Geoffrey of Monmouth, and some of the earlier chroniclers evidently had this work before them. It seems to have held its ground, till the popularity of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *British History*, or rather *British History and Romance*, threw it into the shade and it rapidly disappeared; and its loss has occasioned some points in the literature of the Middle Ages to be doubtful, which we have endeavoured to clear up.

Now as to the question which we have hitherto assumed in the affirmative, whether the elder Gildas, called Gildas Albanus, were the author,—we have, in absence of more decisive proof, four inferences which will bear on the subject; the two first of which would apply to either of the two persons who were known by the name of Gildas, but the two last only to him of whom we speak. We may arrange them thus: 1. Had this poem of the *Cambreis* been written by any one of the order of the bards, we should have expected a mention of the author in the *Triads*; but there is no allusion to it there, or to the producer of it, and these two princes of Strathclyde would not in ordinary circumstances have been members of the order of bards, and still less as ecclesiastics. 11. Either of those two princes, as Strathclyde Britons, would have been anxious to bring forward the Britons of those parts, which this poem does. However, as to reasons for fixing it to the elder Gildas, 111, Geoffery of Monmouth, speaking of this work in his pre-

face to his *History*, which we may conceive to be admissible as evidence in this case, positively assures us that it had no mention of Arthur the British king. In fact, the elder Gildas, or Gildas Albanus, died before his time; for he deceased in 512, and Arthur only began to reign in 517.

iv. The contest feigned in the poem as to giving a new name to London after its supposed embellishment, between the two brothers, Ludd and Nynyaw, has again a special bearing on our second point. It seems to intimate that the Britons continued to have an interest in the place, whereas it was wrested from them after about the year 544, when the younger Gildas, the one surnamed Badonicus, was still in middle age, for he survived to the year 575. It is true that this gay, lively, highly decorated, and somewhat fanciful poem, as we see from the extracts, is not very consistent with the habits of discipline and austerity which are ascribed to them both; but the poem might have been written somewhat early in life by the elder Gildas. According to the *Scotichronicon* of John de Fordun, the league between the Caledonian and southern Britons began in the year 487, but there might have been a still earlier one than that.

We have been obliged to rely on internal evidence in the foregoing views as to appropriating the poem to Gildas Albanus, since Tysilio, Geoffrey of Monmouth, Lilio Gyraldo, and Ponticus Virunnius, merely assign the poem generally to a person named Gildas. It is true that the last mentioned has given us a species of left-handed date (see p. 53, *ante*), which is of some value, but which is useless without conjectural emendation.

Having arrived at the above conclusions, we may immediately make use of them by dispensing with the Gildas Cambrius of the old bibliographer Bale, whom he makes a third Gildas, now we have the right Gildas Cambrius. We may consider the difficulties as connected with this matter disposed of; but, before we treat of the other works of this Gildas Albanus, it may be requisite to make a remark or two on the personage whom he makes the heroine of his poem.

GENUISSA, THE HEROINE OF THE CAMBREIS.

This name has much the appearance of being the cor-

responding feminine name to Venusius, who, as mentioned by Tacitus, is described by him as being at first connected with the Iugantes, or Iceni Coritani, and afterwards as being married to Cartismandua, queen of the Brigantes, and thus became transferred to that state. The name Venusius seems formed on the same principle as Phæbitius, and Delphidius, Iovius, and the like; and the inference is that he was a British prince, who, like others of the age, took a cognomen from a heathen divinity. Genuissa appears to be a feminine name formed in the same way; that is, to be Venusia in a Celtic shape: however, she is wholly unmentioned in classical authors. According to Tysilio's *Chronicle*, Arviragus, that is Caractacus, married a daughter of Claudius the emperor, at the conclusion of the war, which was in the year 51; and the other British chronicles give Genuylles, Generis, Genuissa, or Gwenisa, as her name. Now putting these last aside, as Tysilio mentions the existence of such a person, described as the daughter of Claudius, which term would perhaps imply natural or adopted daughter only; and as Gildas Albanus gives her name, there is of course a strong presumption, though not a certainty, that we may have his authority for the affiliation, as also for the marriage, which might have taken place, not at the conclusion of the war, but after the release of Caractacus. The occurrence of the names Venusius and Venusia in Britain is rather a singular coincidence, as they are not found otherwise in classic authors; and there is no reason to suppose an affinity between the two persons. It would have been interesting to know how the story was worked up in the *Cambreis*; but we should not have known Genuissa, or Venusia, or Inuenissa, according to Ponticus Virunnius, was mentioned at all in it, had not the introduction of an unusual word, "sambuca", for the lyre, arrested the attention of that author, and caused him to comment on the word and the few verses connected with it.

THE ETHNOLOGICAL TREATISE OF GILDAS ALBANUS.

We have shown that Gildas Albanus is to be regarded the author of the *Cambreis*, which Ponticus Virunnius pronounced to be the *Liber Britannicus*, as it ranked, ac-

according to his ideas, as a British history of the time; and now we continue in the proper line of our subject, which is, to show the distinction between the two writers of the name of Gildas, Gildas Albanus and Gildas Badonicus. To do this, we will proceed to notice some other works assigned to this first-named ancient, examining their claims to the attribution.

With this introduction, we may say that our author is very generally supposed to have written an account of the ancient inhabitants of Britain, particularly noting the various early colonies it had received. This obtains general credence; but it would be very difficult to bring forward what is called legal or exact proof of the point, though it is pretty certain that the greater part of the twelve ethnological chapters in the usual editions of Nennius are either abstracted or extracted from it. We have much of the actual treatise, no doubt; but we cannot sufficiently connect it with its supposed author. All our arguments are here but approximations; such as our knowing that Nennius, or Marcus before him, necessarily copied ethnological matters from some previous treatise, and that there were none other so relative to the purpose as his that they could have obtained. Again, the manuscript of Nennius (British Museum, NERO D. VIII), has in its title "*Exceptiones de Libro Gildæ Sapiientis quem composuit de primis habitatoribus Britanniae*"; that is, "*Extracts from the Book of Gildas Sapiens, which he composed concerning the first inhabitants of Britain.*" The name of Gildas also occurs in the titles of seventeen other manuscripts of Nennius: and one other of the manuscripts of this author, as it should seem, which is in the public library at Basle, according to Haenel's catalogue, has for its title "*Gildas de Primis Habitatoribus Britanniae.*" It is probable that this treatise of Gildas went no further than to illustrate the origin of various ancient British races, as the supposed titles of it seem chiefly to refer to the first inhabitants; in other words, to its earliest population. But this, again, is not certain.

Admitting Gildas to have been the author of this work, it must be confessed he would have been extremely qualified for it, being a learned person, the son of a Strathclyde prince, consequently in connexion with the Picts and Cale-

donians, and having also been a resident in Gaul, Ireland, and Britain.

THE LIVES AND ACTS OF THE SAINTS GERMANUS
AND LUPUS, BY GILDAS ALBANIUS.

This work is attributed to him on the authority of Geoffrey of Monmouth, vi. 13, who says that Gildas gave an account, in his elegant treatise, of the many miracles which they wrought. It is believed that this is the chief and only authority on the subject ; consequently it will be seen that the matter is not without uncertainty in several points of view. There were two persons of the name of Gildas ; and the other Gildas might have mentioned him in one of his treatises, while giving a history of the Church of this island, as we shall see.

VERSES ON SEXTUS.

These are contained in the manuscript in the British Museum marked *Vespasian*, E. vii., p. 85, and seem only attributed to Gildas by a species of poetical licence, under the idea that certain prophecies announcing that a sixth king of Britain would be surpassingly great, and conquer Ireland, were written by him. But there is no internal evidence to connect these verses with Gildas. On the contrary, they are far from being written, in point of style, with that easy flow and elegance which seem to characterize the genuine poetic fragments attributed to him ; being, in fact, indited in a species of miserable doggerel, and with a disregard to metre, unless the text be extensively corrupted. They begin :

Ter tria sinistra tenent cùm semitempora Sexti,
Sus vagiens imprimis pedem, de fine resumit.

In English : "After thrice three years, forming half the reign of Sextus, have been unfortunate, the boar, who had been lamenting the loss of his foot, at length recovers it," etc. We only need say, in explanation of the import of these verses, that the hieroglyphic of a boar whose foot is bitten off by a wolf, forms one of the leading features in these verses to Sextus. The writer of the verses implied by the boar, a king or potentate ; and the loss of the foot, and its being resupplied, represented the abstraction of

certain territories from the said power, and their being recovered.

We may consider the origin of the verses to have been this. Gildas had imitated in his *Cambreis*, of which we have before treated, the Prophecy of Anchises in Virgil, and had introduced, by way of poetical ornamentation, a prediction of the future union of Strathclyde and Cambria, or of the North and South Britons, and of the victories they should gain as the fruits of their alliance. The prediction was not verified, as we know; but the name of Gildas becoming notorious as a prophet, it was surreptitiously added to some verses concocted after the Conquest, being pretendedly prophetic of the affairs of the Normans and Britons. The date of them we may judge was about 1090; and it is quite an error to suppose that Henry II was intended to be signified by the name Sextus, and that they were a forgery of his day, as asserted in Gfroerer's *Pseudoprophetæ*, p. 365, and in Mr. Wright's *Biographia Britannica Literaria*, vol. i, p. 133. In fact, Henry II was not the sixth from the commencement of the line in the person of William the Conqueror, but the fifth. We may rather presume the case to have been, that immediately after the Norman Conquest it was judged probable, from the increased power of the larger island, that it would in the course of a few reigns subdue the lesser one, and that the prophecy was shaped accordingly. Thus, as Mr. Herbert, in the *Irish Nennius*, p. xxxv, very properly observes, we are not to look for the completion of the prophecy in Henry II or any one else: it being a pretended prediction. We may add, that it has some points of correspondence with the Prophecy of Merlin; which last may be seen as given in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History*, book vii.

PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN THE LIFE OF GILDAS ALBANIUS.

Taking the account furnished by Archbishop Usher for our basis, from that and from other sources we may collect the following dates respecting him.

Gildas Albanus, or Gildas the elder, was born A.D. 425, in Strathclyde, which was frequently called Albania. His father was Caw, or Gawolan, a prince in Strathclyde. He

seems to have become early an ecclesiastic, and A.D. 455, at the age of 30, as is stated in a life of him attributed to Caradoc of Lancarvan, went to Armorica for seven years to study. Thence he returns, A.D. 462, æt. 37, with a very great quantity of books (*cum magnâ mole diversorum voluminum, Caradoc of Lancarvan*), and became a preacher at Cair Morva, a maritime place near St. David's Head, in Pembrokeshire. His fame being very great for learning through the then three principal kingdoms of Britain (*tria Regna Britanniae, Caradoc*), i. e., Strathclyde, Cambria, and Dumnonia, multitudes of scholars flocked to him soon afterwards, who were very accurately instructed by him in the seven sciences, and qualified to become teachers themselves. He also at this time, as afterwards, according to *Caradoc*, practised many austerities in his usual mode of life. A.D. 484, æt. 59, he passed over to Ireland, at the invitation, as it is said, of St. Bridget; but appears to have returned again to Britain, but to what part appears not mentioned. A.D. 498, æt. 73, he went to Ireland for ten years, where he endeavoured to re-establish the churches which, since the death of St. Patrick, had fallen into disorder, and opened a college or academy at Armagh, where multitudes of scholars flocked to him and where he preached. A.D. 508 he returned to Britain, and undertook the care of the school in Lancarvan, in Glamorganshire, without emolument. In the year 509, æt. 84, he retired to the Isle of Eckni, or Steepholmes, in the Bristol Channel, where he commenced the life of a hermit, and appears to have intended forming a permanent establishment there.

An anecdote is recorded of him while settling himself at this place, which should not be passed by. He took some timber which was lying in a forest on the banks of the Wye, having probably had a grant of it from the king of Gwent, or from some local ruler, but it had been felled for the use of the bishop of Llandaff. He had loaded a boat with it, and had already reached the Severn and was crossing that river, when, behold, its restitution was demanded by St. Dubricius, at that time the bishop of the see; which Gildas refusing, continued his course to his insular retreat. The *Liber Landavensis*, which gives the details, places the occurrence in the episcopate of St. Oudoceus; whereas,

according to the requirements of chronology, it must have happened in the time of St. Dubricius.

A.D. 510, æt. 85, being molested by pirates, he went to Glastonbury. A.D. 511, æt. 86, he lived as a hermit on the banks of the Axe, near Glastonbury; and A.D. 512, æt. 87, he died, and was buried before the altar of St. Mary, in the Abbey church, till it was burnt down in the year 1184, when his remains were taken up and placed in a silver box. The account by the ancient chronographer of Glastonbury says, he died in the year 522.

This, omitting miracles and legends, appears to be a faithful sketch of his life. It presents no inconsistencies, and there are no material contradictions in any quarter. We thus may possibly have succeeded in placing the biography of the ancient historiographer Gildas, as he is called, in a better position, and so far illustrated his times.

GILDAS BADONICUS, OR THE YOUNGER GILDAS.

As the elder Gildas is very properly called Gildas Albanus, from Strathclyde or Albany, the place of his nativity, so the present Gildas is called Badonicus, from want of a more proper appellation, on account of his referring very particularly to a battle at Mount Badon or Bath. An account was written of him in the eleventh century, supposed to be by a monk of Rhuy, in Normandy, a monastery which he had founded, and from this various particulars of his life may be obtained, though some caution is required in the selection, as he is occasionally confused by the writer with Gildas Albanus, of whom we have just treated. It is well drawn up, and written with great elegance in the best style of mediæval Latin, though extremely legendary. It is imperfect at the end; but one-third of the whole is taken up with a species of historical notice of Rhuy Abbey after his death. The precision with which the monk speaks of his four brothers, Howel, Mailoc, Aleccus, and Egreas, and his sister, Peteova, appears to render it pretty clear, that among his legendary materials he had also some others of a more correct description. He gives no dates throughout; but on comparing his account with our other sources, it will appear that he considered that Gildas left Ireland finally in 534;

and Britain in 535, and spent the rest of his life chiefly in Armorica. We must seek then our chronological materials elsewhere; and here the *Primordia*, or Church History of Archbishop Usher has been of the most essential service.

Gildas Badonicus was born in the year 492, as we find recorded in his own work, *De Excidio*, c. 26, which is a somewhat important chronological date, and, indeed, the only one which his work supplies. Mr. Petrie, in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, p. 106, denies the existence of any dates whatever in it. This, therefore, is a point in which it may be of utility to show Mr. Petrie's mistake, and to be sufficiently explanatory. We may add a few further remarks, though the topic has already been attended to in the *Britannic Researches*, p. 63. The passage as it usually stands is,—“usque ad annum obsessionis Badonici Montis, qui prope Sabrinum Ostium habetur, novissimæque ferme de furciferis non minimæ stragis, quique quadragesimus quartus, ut novi, oritur, annus, mense jam primo emenso, qui jam et meæ nativitatis est.” The meaning we have given as above referred to, namely, that it fixes the year of his birth as taking place forty-four years after the landing of the Saxons, is the same as Bede understood, and as was received by Josseline, who was secretary to Archbishop Parker, and the first editor of a correct text of the author. The contrary interpretation, that Gildas says the battle of Mount Badon was forty-four years from the time he wrote it, must be allowed has had considerable currency, and has been adopted by some eminent scholars, as by Mr. Stevenson, Mr. Petrie above mentioned, Dr. Giles, and others. With all due deference to eminent names, it may be suggested that they have not compared sufficiently the context of the passage with what the author had before said. Gildas, in this part of his work, was giving chronologically a series of events from the landing of the Saxons. In doing this, he comes to an occurrence, the said siege of Mount Badon, which he describes took place when the forty-fourth year was commencing. It may be asked, from what? And the answer will be, certainly from that first coming of the Saxons of which he spoke before, and not that he simply meant that the year in which the siege took place had elapsed forty-four years before the time he indited the passage in ques-

tion. The reader must be reminded, Gildas says, “*quique annus oritur*,” or “*orditur*,” implying that very year of the battle was the one which arose, or came in order: the Latin word being either “*oritur*” or “*orditur*” in different manuscripts.

Regarding the state of the text in various editions as relates to the passage, Polydore Vergil, in his printed edition, either used an imperfect copy, or designedly omitted the words “*quique quadragesimus quartus*,” etc., to “*jam emenso*.” In the Cambridge manuscript, which is marked F. f. i. 27, instead of the first jam, “*anni vel uno*,” is interlined, which is apparently the true reading, and favours the construction here given. The “*primo*” therefore of the Cambridge manuscript which follows would appear to be erroneous. Mr. Petrie, in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, p. 59, gives the English as if the Latin words in the original had stood, “*a quo quadragesimus quartus evolvitur annus*,” etc., which is very far from being the case.

To continue. Gildas Badonicus, in his early youth, was placed under the instruction of St. Iltutus, at Llaniltyd, in Glamorganshire, and afterwards went to Ireland to continue his studies, apparently about A.D. 513, æt. 21. He may be understood to have continued no long time there, but to have returned to Britain after a short interval, probably about the year 516, æt. 24. From the tenor of the accounts respecting him, he appears to have exercised one kind of life as a teacher and preacher, at times in Ireland and at times in Britain. He appears to have been returning from the former country in or about the year 534, æt. 42, soon after his brother Howel's death. His only work now extant, his *De Excidio*, would seem to have been in progress during ten years; but of that we will further speak. He published it ultimately in Armorica, in 545, æt. 53. At what period afterwards he returned to Britain, or whither he went, is not communicated; but according to Usher, we find him making another voyage from Britain to Armorica, A.D. 554, when he was ætatis 62. His time there was employed in teaching, and during his residence in those parts he founded the Abbey of Rhuys or Rieux, in Normandy, and a small Oratory near on the banks of the river Blavet. About this time also, according to his biography by the monk of Rhuys, he went to

Rome, and would probably have continued in Armorica the remainder of his life ; but on an invitation from king Aumeric he went over to Ireland, A.D. 566, æt. 74, where he reformed many of the churches and died A.D. 570, æt. 78, having lost his patron, Aumeric, the previous year in battle.

These appear to have been the main facts of his life pretty accurately, and he is shown clearly to have been a distinct person from the other Gildas.

We have not touched on the legendary particulars connected with the story of our Gildas Badonicus. They are very numerous ; much more so, indeed, than those which are narrated respecting the elder saint of the same name. We may forbear comment upon them, except on one, the connexion of which with Cambrian history is very evident. The incident belongs to Britain, though we know not by what mistake it has been related as taking place in Armorica ; and is even so referred to by Gregory of Tours. The ill character of Maelgwyn Gwynedd is somewhat prominent in ancient British history, and our monk of Rhuyd describes him in his *Life of Gildas*, under the name of Conomerus (*i.e.*, Cuno-mawr, or great king), as the murderer of several of his wives and as the oppressor of his people. The saint is represented as bringing down judgments on this reprobate, and as restoring his murdered consort, Trifina, daughter of a potentate named Weroch, to life, whose name appears to be unknown in British story, as is also that of her son ; who is related to have acquired the name of Trechmore.

This last name would be the same as “ Draig-mawr,” or great dragon, by which the title Pendragon, or chief king of the Britons, appears to be implied ; and this was actually held by Rhun, the son of the British king, though after him the family did not obtain the distinction for two generations. Regarding Weroch mentioned in this narrative, the father of Trifina, the appellation is merely titular, and signifies gwr-uch, or high magnate, and no more. His subjects are called Venetenses, a name which would apply equally to the Veneti in Gaul and to the inhabitants of Gwynedd, or Venedocia, in Britain.

Here the matter might rest with a very good colourable proof of what we have advanced ; but if we turn to the

Epistola of Gildas, c. 35, the origin of the legendary tale becomes pretty evident. Maelgwyn Gwynedd is there roundly accused of putting to death his first wife, as also his nephew, in order that he might marry his widow, being incited to do so in both instances by this last-mentioned person, who afterwards became his queen. Gildas says that he murdered only one wife, the legend extends the number to several; Gildas merely says, "put to death," but the legend connects the crime with circumstances of harrowing atrocity: however, a legendary narrative may naturally be expected to be much dilated and distorted.

We may as well give the words of our author in his said c. 35, relating to these circumstances:—"Spernuntur namque primæ—tamen propriæ conjugis præsumptivæ nuptiæ, alii viri viventis non externi sed fratris filii adamata. Ob quæ dura cervix illa multis jam peccaminum fascibus onerata, bino parricidiali ausu, occidendo, supradictum, uxoremque tuam aliquamdiu habitam, velut summo sacrilegii tui culmine de imis ad inferiora curvatur. Dehinc illam cujus dudum colludio ac suggestionem tantæ sunt peccatorum subitæ moles, ut etiam publicæ fallacis parasitorum linguæ tuorum conclamant summis tamen labiis, non ex intimo corde, legitimo, utpote viduatam, thoro, ut nostræ vero, sceleratissimo adscivisti connubio." In English:—"Your first nuptials with your consort of your first selection have been despised, notwithstanding they were lawful nuptials; and the reason has been that you fell in love, not with the wife of a stranger, but of your own brother's son. It is on account of these things that the stubborn neck of yours, already burdened with many sins, is bowed down still lower by this double parricide thus daringly perpetrated; namely, by putting him to death, your nephew above mentioned, and her also who had been your wife for some considerable time. Afterwards you took this woman, by whose collusion and suggestion so short a time before such a weight of crime was brought upon you, as if to your lawful wife. Your parasites indeed pronounced it a lawful union at the top of their voices, but not from the bottom of their hearts, on the ground that she was a widow; but we, the Church, regarded it and proclaimed it as a most wicked alliance."

There is the less scope for finding confirmation of these

circumstances thus alluded to by Gildas, and, as we suppose, alluded to also by the monk of Rhuy, in his life of this last-mentioned personage, because Maelgwyn Gwynedd seems to have taken special care to stand well with the order of the Bards. He entertained Taliesin as his court poet, and Gildas describes his devotion to this poetical tribe thus, in his chapter 34: "Arrecto aurium auscultantur captu, non Dei laudes canora Christi tyronum voce suaviter modulante, neque ecclesiasticæ melodix, sed propriæ quæ nihili sunt, furciferorum refertæ mendaciis, simulque spumanti phlegmate proximos quosque fœdaturo præconum ore ritu bacchantium concrepante." We may translate this not very complimentary description of the bards thus: "No longer you seek to hear the praises of God modulated by the musical voices of Christ's disciples, nor church melodies; but now it is your own praises which you listen to, which are absolutely of no import. These are, indeed, resounded in strains crammed full with falsehoods by the rogues whose business it is to celebrate them: they are, in fact, bawled out amidst spuming and drunken revelries and bacchanalian rites, in which these applauders beslaver one another." Whatever may be said of this description, we see the means by which silence was extensively purchased, and why Maelgwyn Gwynedd's misconduct is not recorded in the Triads; nor, indeed, with one instance only excepted, in other bardic compositions.

That exception is supplied to us by Taliesin, the bard before mentioned, who, according to some accounts, was court poet to the Celtic monarch; and, if so, would have been included in the tumultuous assemblage which Gildas described. He has left five verses directed against him with great virulence, which are certainly not much to the honour of the illustrious writer, and may be considered as a species of bardic imprecation. They are as follow:

Ny bo rhad na gwedd ar Vaelgwn Gwynedd;
 Drwy na dialler ar Run y etyvedd,
 Boed byr vo y vchedd boed diffaith vo y diredd,
 Boed hir diuroedd o Vaelgwn Gwynedd.
 Taliessin benn Beyrdd ae cant.

That is, "May Maelgwyn Gwynedd be unlucky, and pleasing to nobody; only, so that Rhun, his son, receive no injury from it. May his life be short, his lands without

crops, and himself an exile from his own possessions. Thus sings the chief of the bards, Taliesin."

To turn to a different topic, as we now enter upon some miscellaneous particulars connected with the ancient of whom we treat. The name Gildas, which both these saints bore, is not only one of a titular description, but also is singularly peculiar, and in an especial manner connected with the times in which they lived. Gildas, or Gilli-tasc, is, literally, "Minister-princeps", or, the Prince the minister, or ecclesiastic, in the same way as Gillimore is the great minister, or ecclesiastic; or, as other instances might be alleged, *tasc* is an abbreviation for the Celtic word *TASCIO*, implying a chief. (See the *Britannic Researches*, p. 302, and *Coins of Cunobeline*, p. 200.) It also may be noted that the form "tosh" is still current in Scotland as a portion of personal names. The *Life*, by the Monk of Rhuys, speaking of the younger Gildas, says that his name was sometimes varied to Gildasius, which, in its termination, is of course a still nearer approximation to the root, *tascio*. It follows, that the title was unlikely to be borne except by the son of a king: and here again some useful explanation can be afforded.

Both the persons of the name of Gildas, of whom we have now treated, are said to have been the sons of Caw, otherwise Gawolan, or Caunos, or Can. The Monk of Rhuys has Caunos; and Giraldus Cambrensis, Capgrave; John of Glastonbury, and the *Life of St. Cadoc*, have Can. (Wright's *Biographia Literaria*, vol. i. p. 115.) Wherefore we may understand the reading, Nan, of the two Museum manuscripts of the life of the elder Gildas to be an error; while the name Caw would seem merely to have been adopted by moderns after Rowland and Owen Pughe, who received that reading. Now Can, or Caunos, appears to be nothing more or less than the Celtic title *cuno*, in some of its ramifications over again. It is obvious we have it modified in the names Duncan, Morgan, and Gwrcan, in all of which it signifies king; and we have it also in the appellation Canmore, in John de Fordun's *Chronicle*, where it implies great king: and the country, in either case, in which this Can, or Caunos, *i. e.* king, is said to have resided, was Caledonia, in the first instance, or, as it appears by the context, Strathclyde; and in the second, this last named region also.

The two persons, then, of the name of Gildas, were both kings' sons, and their fathers had both rule in the district of Strathclyde. According to common opinion, they are both supposed to have been obliged to leave their country from the incursions of the Saxons ; but such idea appears to be groundless, and is not countenanced by either of their biographies yet extant, which allude to nothing of the kind. Indeed, the battle of Gododin, the great catastrophe in these parts, did not take place till after the younger Gildas had already left ; and the western portion of the kingdom of Strathclyde continued in existence even two centuries after that. Their adopting the life of ecclesiastics must, therefore, be solely referred to their own choice. The one left his country for Armorica, to resort to the foreign professors of the day ; the other was sent by his father to an eminent teacher in Cambria. They both appear to have been eminent men in their day, in the capacity of teachers, preachers, missionaries, and authors ; and it is highly to be regretted that we have not a larger portion of their works remaining extant. We have a biography of each still in existence ; and an additional one in French, which was formerly Reginald Heber's, has been of late years acquired by the British Museum (*Egerton MSS.*, No. 745, fol. 77), to which we may recur presently. Their being both avowed champions of the Latin Communion, in opposition to the ancient British Church, has, without doubt, tended to preserve accounts of them.

The style of Gildas Badonicus is so idiomatic, that it shows he was constantly in the habit of speaking Latin ; and not merely speaking it, but doing so with great volubility, and with an intimate acquaintance with the language. His periods appear to have been poured out in one continual stream of declamation, with great attention to cadence, euphony, and rhythm, but with an entire disregard, not to grammatical concordances,—which we may rather consider to be usually observed when the text is correct,—but to simplicity in the arrangement of his words, and with an entire disregard likewise to keeping his sentences within reasonable length. He crowds very numerous ideas into one paragraph, which it frequently requires some nicety to unravel. It is presumable that, at the time he wrote, a person whose vernacular idiom was

Latin, and who was accustomed to his usual style of expressing himself, would have understood his writings with sufficient readiness; but moderns, whose vernacular idiom Latin is not, and who consequently consider a Latin paragraph more in its separate parts, that is, in parts of a few words together, than as a whole, often find this writer very enigmatical: particularly in those passages where any uncertainty exists as to the correct text.

Regarding the biographies of persons named Gildas, Caradoc of Lancarvan and the Monk of Rhuy, intending to write the life of one individual, have, in fact, confused the accounts of two distinct persons, whom they have made one and the same. We have now a great facility of investigating and ascertaining this, as the *Life of Gildas*, attributed to Caradoc of Lancarvan, and that by the Monk of Rhuy, are both printed by Dr. Giles in his *Documents relating to the Ancient Britons*, 8vo., 1847. The first has also been printed by Mr. Stevenson in his *Edition of Gildas*, 8vo., 1838; a third, in the *Egerton Manuscript*, No. 745, has not been printed. It relates to Gildas Badonicus, and we may give a few lines of it, and briefly advert to its contents.

At the beginning it seems to have been copied from an obliterated original, as several words are here and there omitted, for which no spaces are left. There is also an obliteration or two in this page itself, so that the first fourteen or fifteen lines are not so legible; but all the rest of the biography seems to be sufficiently so.

It is an abridgment of the *Life* by the Monk of Rhuy. It gives the story of Maelgwyn Gwynedd, and of the message of St. Bridget to Gildas, and some other particulars in the Monk's narrative. It omits others, and has an addition or two of its own; but, in particular, it omits nearly all the names of persons and places, which the author it follows had given rather numerous. The manuscript is of the fourteenth century; and the first paragraph may be inserted, the words to which the asterisk is affixed being wholly omitted in the original, and, as well as the others between brackets, are supplied conjecturally.

"*Ici commence la vie Monseigneur S. Gildas.*—Sanct Gildase fu nez de Bretaine de tres noble lignie, et fut ballies a entreprendre a sanct Phyleberte, qui donc estoit abes de

Tournay. Il fut baptisies et (*demeuroit à) une isle qui estoit donc nouve(llement) dessoya (*i. e.* desechée) et qui fu entreus de(sable) lascie (*de la mer) et sans hom. Sanct Gildas se ne prenoit viande de fort (*que) trois fois la semaine seulement (*de) vers la age de xv. ans (thirty in margin) au le jour de sa mort : et servoit a Dieu en veuilles et oroisons," etc., etc.

In English : " Here begins the life of Monseigneur Saint Gildas.—Saint Gildase was born in Britain, of a very noble lineage, and was given over into the hands of St. Philibert to be made a priest, who then was abbot of Tournay. He was baptized, and dwelt in an isle recently become dry land, and which was full of sand banks, which had been cast up by the sea, and was uninhabited. St. Gildas, from about the fifteenth year of his age (in the margin, thirtieth) to the day of his death, only partook of solid food three times a week ; and served God continually in watchings and prayers," etc., etc.

Gildas Badonicus, it will be observed, is partially confused with the elder saint named Gildas ; for it was Gildas Albanus who went to study in Armorica.

We now come to speak of the *De Excidio* of this author, which we possess, and of another work of his, which is lost.

The value of the *De Excidio* as a history is very considerable, though merely intended by the author as an historical sketch, to bring his various points of censure and reprobation duly to bear, and to make them intelligible. Otherwise, it appears to have been no part of his purpose to write merely as an historian ; and he could have but little suspected that much of what he related would, in after times, rest solely on his testimony.

Viewing him, then, not strictly as an historian, but as an ecclesiastic of the Latin Communion in controversy with the insular British Church, and reproving the vices of the times, we may be rather surprised on the whole, not that he introduced so little historical detail, but that he introduced so much. It was, in fact, his lengthy style of declamation that induced him to give that singularly drawn up sketch of Roman British events which he introduces,—a sketch moulded indeed to his purpose, and written with a particular bias, but at once novel and striking, and derived from a source now no longer extant. That source,

it appears, was a Roman compilation, indited, it should seem, to reprobate the Britons for their insurrections against the Roman government (see *Britannic Researches*, p. 173); and that such a work existed, may intimate to us the great extent of ancient literature which has been lost.

The *De Excidio* has certainly been a constant butt of the critics, who many of them have not been sparing of their most severe remarks. Some of their strictures it has deserved to the full; but, in other cases, they have not well considered the object of the writer, nor made sufficient allowance for the comparative rudeness of those times.

The *De Excidio* of Gildas Badonicus is a lamentation on the state of Britain at the particular period at which the author wrote; and the second part of it, the *Epistola*, is a severe attack on the British kings at that time reigning, the two Pendragons of the day,—for the supreme power was then divided,—and the subordinate rulers. He attacked them as the champion of the Latin Church; and the whole British clergy also came in for their share of reproof. His chidings are distinguished for much asperity; but there is no doubt that his intentions were good, and that he was a true patriot at heart.

As to date of publishing, it is almost necessarily fixed to the year 545, for then Constantine the Third was still alive, and Arthur Mabuter dead, both of which are requirements to the work as it now stands. But we judge from c. 1 of the *Historia* that the *Epistola* was produced first,—even about ten years before; and by a comparison of cc. 1 and 29, it appears that, when the whole work was ultimately published, Gildas was in Armorica.

It is very true that Gildas, in his said c. 1, does not say that he had actually written his work ten years before. What he does say is, that he had revolved most anxiously his “Admonitory History”, as he calls it (“*Historia et Admonitiuncula*”), in his mind for that period. But when he describes the so pressing solicitations of his friends for the *Historia* to be written, we may infer that his *Epistola* had been completed before, and that his friends, who may be considered to have been members of the Latin Church, and mostly inimical to that of Britain, wished to see it joined with a violent invective against the misconduct and

demoralization of Britain in past times as well. We will give an extract from this chapter with all possible brevity. "Silui fateor cum immenso mentis dolore et animi compunctione cordisque contritione, ut (orig. et) attonito sensu sæpius hæc omnia in animo revolvere: Et — — spatio bilustri temporis vel eo amplius prætereuntis imperitiâ, sicut et nunc unâ cum carissimis mei amicis imperantibus ut qualemcumque gentis Britannicæ historiolum sive admonitiunculam scriberem. In zelo igitur domus Domini, sacre legis cogitatum rationibus, vel fratrum religiosi precibus coactus, nunc persolvo debitum multo tempore antea exactum," etc. In English: "I kept silence, I confess, with immeasurable grief, and compunction of mind and contrition of heart, that, moved as every feeling was, I might the more often revolve all these things in my mind: Even for ten years or more did I feel myself at a loss, as I do now, though commanded by my dearest friends, how I should write any kind of History and Admonition of the British nation. Zealous, therefore, for the House of God, influenced by my reasonings from the Holy Scriptures, or by those from my own thoughts,—nay, even constrained by the religious prayers of my brethren,—I discharge now the debt incurred a long time ago," etc.

The Monk of Rhuys, in his *Life of Gildas*, c. 19, expressly says that ecclesiastics from Britain came to him in Armorica on the subject of his *Epistola*. This may imply that they were returning from a mission in Britain to the Continent, and thus made their way to their old friend, who had become established in Gaul at that conjuncture.

Admitting that the *Epistola* of Gildas was written about the year 535, as rather appears from what he has communicated on the subject, Arthur, the pendragon of the island, was not only then alive, but had not at that time left Britain for his Gaulish expedition. Now the reproofs in his *Epistola* fell severely on the principal British kings and rulers; and there can exist no reasonable doubt but that the said Arthur was among the number originally reprovèd: nay, more, a collateral circumstance appears to inform us that he was reprehended together with one Cuneglas, a minor insular king, who, from Gildas' account, seems not to have been a person of a very good character, and who, we may understand, was an abettor of the acts

of his superior, and a species of companion to him. It is easy for us to see, from the context of the c. 32 of the *Epistola*, that, in the said reproof, some allusion was made to the name Arthur, which, being dissected, might be interpreted "Arth-erch", or fierce bear. However, at the ultimate publication of the *Epistola* and *Historia*, or *De Excidio*, in 545, Arthur was dead; and therefore the part applying to him would necessarily have been struck out. This, no doubt, was done; but the lines relating to Cuneglas, the invective on whom, we have judged, was somewhat conjoined with that on Arthur, was, by accident or design, left unaltered. Thus this Cuneglas still stands mentioned, "Auriga currus Ursi", or "driver of the Bear's chariot", according as he had been at first described. We shall have again occasion briefly to refer to this circumstance at a subsequent page.

The above are some remarks out of many which we might make on this ancient composition, so much connected with our island. We should, perhaps, add that the *De Excidio*, like the *Triads*, of which we have spoken at a previous page, is to be considered a perfectly unique production, nothing of the kind having appeared in Europe from the time of the writer to the present day. There was, indeed, a peculiarity of its own in the case, which was not likely to occur again: and wishing as Gildas did to reprove the flagrant misdemeanours of the times, various concurring circumstances promoted the work. He must have had less reluctance to stigmatize the unworthy rulers and the priesthood, reprehensible as it was in many points, for it does not appear that he considered himself the subject of any one of the five kings of whom his celebrated circular treated; nor in writing against the British clergy was he, strictly speaking, at issue with his own order, for he belonged to the Latin communion. It is easy to see that the case could scarce ever occur that the same line of conduct should be adopted by any other ecclesiastic.

In regard to his other literary performances, the statement of Giraldus Cambrensis is probably strictly correct, that he, at one time of his life, wrote the *Acts* of Arthur Mabuter, and an account of his family; but that, on hearing of the death of his brother Howel by that prince, in a feud, he threw the volumes which he had composed into

the sea. This is related in the *De Illaudibilibus Cambrie* of Giraldus, c. 27, as in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, vol. ii., p. 448, c. 11. We have no ascertained dates to be able to introduce these circumstances among our chronological details; but it may be suggested that the *Acts* could not have been written till the peace with the Saxons in 532; and, according to the tenor of the accounts, Gildas landed from Ireland in about 534, when he was received by Saint Cadoc and several British chiefs, among whom was Arthur himself: at which time the feud, which, according to the customs of medieval times, would have descended as a species of legacy to Gildas, was composed, and a pacification effected between them. See Caradoc of Lancarvan's *Life of Gildas*, cc. 5 and 6, in which it plainly appears that these things took place before Arthur departed for his Gaulish expedition, about the year 536. The reader may be referred to some further details in the ensuing chapter (iii., pt. i.), where likewise the passage of Giraldus applying to this case, will be extracted.

Another and very principal work of Gildas Badonicus was his *Victoria Aurelii Ambrosii*, or, as we should say, his "Victorious Career of Aurelius Ambrosius", the word "victoria" meaning, in Latin, not one victory merely, but a victorious career: in the same way as prosperity, in usual acceptation, means a succession of auspicious events, and not one such event only. This, like the ethnological treatise of the other Gildas, that is, of Gildas Albanus, became lost, both from a contrary cause from that by which other works usually disappear,—that is, not from being disused, but, in fact, from being used too much; or, in other words, so much mixed up and incorporated with other works, that the original no longer was kept distinct and separately preserved. As we know not what portion of the treatise of Gildas Albanus, *De Primis Habitatoribus Britanniae*, we have in the twelve ethnographical chapters of Nennius, so we know not how much of the *Victoria Aurelii Ambrosii* we have in *Tysilio*, *Geoffrey of Monmouth*, and *Bede*. From the similarity of the account of the early Church in those three authors, and the acknowledgment of one of them, it would seem that it formed the accustomed source from which the primeval history of the British Church was supplied. The one who makes the acknowledgment is Geof-

frey of Monmouth, who, in his *History*, iv., 20, expressly informs us to this effect; and his assertion being positive, should be received. It may be said, that it is not quoted by name by Bede: to which it may be replied, that he may not have quoted it, as finding the information generally known in his time; and it may be observed, in the like way, that neither Marcus nor Nennius have quoted the ethnological treatise of Gildas Albanus, though they undoubtedly used it.

Having premised these remarks, it may be deserving notice to mention that Geoffrey of Monmouth calls it, in the passage to which we have just referred, a "lucidus tractatus", or elegant treatise; which we may have but little difficulty in believing that it was, for it is not denied that Geoffrey of Monmouth was versed in literary composition, so that he was, in fact, a judge of this particular. It was, of course, a history of a duplex nature, containing the *Acts* of Ambrosius, in which were recounted his exertions against the Saxons; and a compilation of ecclesiastical events which had occurred from the earliest times of the island: the actual subject being the checking the Saxons in their conquests by Aurelius Ambrosius, and the reestablishment by him of the churches. As Bede says so little respecting Ambrosius, it is possible that he had only seen an extract of the ecclesiastical part. This is very possible, though perhaps not probable: it is rather presumable, that a jealousy of the British population, if not in the breast of Bede, yet in the breasts of those about him, made him suppress all but a passing mention of this eminent chief.

The *Victoria* is to be considered a species of fragment only, though it must have been an interesting and important one. It is not styled "*Vita Aurelii Ambrosii*", for it evidently only gave an account of events down to a certain important era.

It may be asked, how do we know which of the two persons it was of the name of Gildas who wrote the *Victoria Aurelii Ambrosii*, since Geoffrey of Monmouth only says it was Gildas? In answer to this we have chiefly the testimony of Ponticus Virunnius, the author whom we have before quoted. At the end of his fourth book of *Historia Britonum*, speaking of the work, he says, "quem

alter Gildas de victoriâ Aurelii Ambrosii inscripsit"; i. e., "which the other Gildas—he had before been speaking of Gildas Albanus—wrote concerning the victorious career of Aurelius Ambrosius." Ponticus Virunnius, who lived at the end of the fifteenth century, either from his connexion with the noble and ancient British Bedouar family, or otherwise, seems to have had access to some rare British books; that is, to the genuine treatise of the *Victoria Aurelii Ambrosii* of Gildas Badonicus, and to the *Liber Britannicus*, or metrical British history, the *Cambreis*, in fact, of Gildas Albanus; both of which works at that time were near their final disappearance.

It is almost doubtful whether we can find any internal evidences in the *De Excidio* that the same author wrote the *Victoria*. The writer of the first himself nowhere alludes to this last mentioned. Even when he describes the courts of the Pagan temples in Britain, and the images of the deities and the introduction of Christianity in his *De Excidio*, cc. 4, 8, 9, we know not whether the same has any reference to aught he had before said in a prior work.

With regard to date the probability is, the *Victoria* was written shortly before the *De Excidio*. It apparently only went down to the peace of Ambrosius, which continued about two years—from 493 to 495. It did not go down to the death of Ambrosius, or it would have removed the doubts as to the manner in which that event took place.

EARLY PRINTED EDITIONS OF GILDAS, AND REMARKS ON SOME ENIGMATICAL VERSES CONTAINED IN ONE OF THE CAMBRIDGE MANUSCRIPTS, AND UPON SOME OTHER CIRCUMSTANCES CONNECTED WITH IT.

The verses in question are as follow :—

Historiam Gildæ Cormac sic perlege scriptam
 Doctoris digitis sensu cultuque redactam.
 Hæc tenues superat, multos carpitque superbos.

They are sufficiently obscure; and the nature of the case is such that, connected as they are with some ancient modifications of the work, they will be best illustrated by our premising some few data relating both to the former printed and manuscript editions of it.

The first printed edition of the work was that of Polydore Vergil in 1525, from two manuscripts not now known to exist; but as he altered his text, *ad libitum*, according to his own avowal in his preface, his edition is, of course, of the less value for supplying materials to ascertain the genuine text.

Secondly, Josseline's, in 1568, using two manuscripts; the Cottonian *Vitellius*, A. vi., afterwards burnt; and the Cambridge Manuscript, Dd. i., 17, which is the one marked B in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*.

Thirdly, we have Gale's, in 1691, from the Cambridge Manuscript, Ff. i., 27, marked A in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, and the above mentioned Cottonian Manuscript, *Vitellius*, A. vi.

Now to explain the verses which occur nowhere else except in the Cambridge Manuscript, marked A, and consequently only appear in one of the three first printed editions. The said Cambridge Manuscript is notable for several peculiarities. It ends with the *Historia*, and has no part of the *Epistola*. Instead of the usual long preface, it has one very much condensed, and at the same time varied; and has also numerous verbal emendations of the text: likewise, it has the list of *Capitula*, or headings of chapters, which do not occur in any other manuscripts. We have here, then, sufficient to throw light on the enigmatical lines which seem merely to apply to the alterations made in that particular manuscript edition; and we can thus, with some degree of confidence, give the English of them, as follows: "Reader, now mayest thou peruse the *History* of Gildas Cormac, edited in a better form, and more correct as to sense, according to the transcript of the preceptor. It is a history superior to those more timidly written; for it reproves many of the proud and overbearing." The preceptor was, of course, some official person in the Monastery where the copy was made.

It will be observed that Gildas is here called Gildas Cormac, which last addition is not an uncommon Celtic name, and implies, "Son of the Church"; *i. e.*, "faithful and warm supporter of the Church." We know no more about it; this being the only instance in which the two names Gildas and Cormac occur conjoined.

But there are still some rather curious particulars con-

nected with the said Cambridge Manuscript A of Gildas. The medieval editor of it was evidently under a species of mistake or delusion, the circumstances of which we may state to have been these. He was the possessor of merely a copy of the *Historia* without the *Epistola*: in fact, of only the first part of the work. At the same time he appears to have known by report, or otherwise, that there should be a second part belonging to it, the nature of which, as a circular-letter to the kings and clergy of Britain, as the *Epistola* in reality is, it is evident he did not understand, but supposed it a common history; and recorded an anecdote which is not otherwise come down to us—that the potentates of the time, on receiving it, threw it into the fire.

Entertaining this idea, that a part of the work was lost, he had the absurdity to suppose that the very significant paragraph which Gildas himself added to his preface to give a summary of his *Historia*, or first part, was the announcement of his second; though Gildas had merely given that summary to show his reason for introducing historical matters into his circular; in fact, to give a greater colour to his reproofs, from the constant misconduct of Britain and its princes from old times, of which he was able to cite instances. Therefore, he reinserted these shorter *Capitula* at the place corresponding with the end of c. 26 of the present edition; though the manuscripts used by Polydore Vergil and Josseline, plainly show that it never originally stood there. Then he adds a note in the margin. “Fecit namque ipse Gildas librum magnum de regibus Britonum et de præliis eorum, sed quia vituperavit eos multum in illo libro incenderunt ipsi librum illum.” In English: “For the same Gildas wrote a great book concerning the kings of the Britons and their wars, which they caused to be committed to the flames, because he blamed them much in it.” After this, he concludes with the three verses on which we have already commented: “*Historiam Gildæ Cormac,*” etc.

CHAPTER III.

SIXTH CENTURY HISTORY.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF ARTHUR MABUTER, KING OF THE BRITONS.

PART I.

HIS BIRTH AND PARENTAGE; WITH VARIOUS PROOFS OF THE GENUINENESS OF HIS HISTORY, AND A PROPOSED CHRONO- LOGICAL ARRANGEMENT OF THE EVENTS OF HIS REIGN.

BEFORE commencing our account of this ancient British king, whose actions were so heroical in the defence of his country, that they almost seem like romance, and of whom, indeed, much romance has actually been written, it may be as well to say a few words respecting Dumnonia, the particular state in Britain over which he reigned; Britain then being divided into various kingdoms, and his family having been seated on the throne of Dumnonia for many generations. This state was one of those of the highest reputation in the island: and we must be a little descriptive of the territory which it occupied.

The Dumnonian kingdom was situated in a part of Britain, which at various periods has had a marked reputation in several respects. It is now considered, from the mildness and salubrity of its climate, the Italy of the island; and a land of plenty, from the cheapness of provisions; whilst the monied world knows of it more particularly from its mines, which in some cases, as those of Wheal Basset, and Maria Basset, have produced almost fabulous abundance. For its mines it was also famed from early antiquity: witness Strabo and Diodorus Siculus. A part of it is thickly studded with mountains, and the inhabitants of those regions seem to have been

regarded as of larger stature formerly. Territorially, according to modern divisions, this ancient British kingdom comprised Cornwall and Devonshire, and part of Somersetshire: and it was separated eastward from another ancient British state, called the Belgæ, by the rivers Parret and Axe.

It appears to have been the part of Britain which first obtained in remote times some comparative degree of civilization, and was the earliest to possess a coinage, as testified by the large collection of gold coins formerly discovered at Karnbrê; which are of the most primitive types known in the island. (See the *Coins of Cunobeline and of the Ancient Britons*, p. 139.) Its sovereign, Dyfnwal Moelmyd, had an extensive sway in Britain as early as two centuries at least before the Christian era: and its inhabitants are considered to have traded from very ancient times with the Phœnicians, to which their advance in civilization may be attributed. In process of time, however, they were eclipsed by the rising power of the Belgic Gauls in the island, who had established themselves, after several invasions, and are believed to have subdued the Dumnonii, under Beli Mawr, or Belinus the Great, their sovereign, about 85 years before Christ. Soon after, they are found to form part of the dominions of Cunobeline, his grandson. On the Roman invasion, in the time of Claudius, these people, together with the Belgæ, made a prolonged resistance against the Romans during the years 45 and 46. (See the *Britannic Researches*, pp. 325-333.) Nevertheless, when the Romans had completed their conquests here, they appear to have treated them with singular distinction; since no garrisons are recorded as being placed within their limits, and they continued to exist, though tributaries, as a distinct native power. This seems to have brought them forward to a pre-eminence among the other tribes when the Romans left, and they supplied, in the person of Constantine of Armorica, who was of the lineage of their kings, though, indeed, he came over to Britain from Gaul, the first independent sovereign of the island. After him, they lost the chief sovereignty for two reigns, those of Vortigern and Vortimer, when it passed to a state of Britain called the Demetæ; soon, however, they set up a concurrent dynasty, and recovered

the full exercise of the power under Aurelius Ambrosius, in the year 481. They retained it to the year 557, when the progress of the Saxons in the south of Britain became so considerable, and, in particular the newly formed Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Wessex became so formidable, that they began to be somewhat isolated in their position in Britain, and their communications with the other Britons intercepted. Nevertheless, they continued a vigorous resistance against the Saxons after they had lost the sovereignty paramount, till they were conquered by Athelstan, in the year 932. (See the *Britannic Researches*, p. 81.) They still, however, preserved a species of independence down to the time of William the Conqueror, when he made Moreton, one of his retainers, Earl of Cornwall; and with this all semblance of sovereignty departed from them.

So much of the Dumnonii, with whom it has been necessary to acquaint the reader; the ancient history of our island having hitherto been much neglected in these earlier parts of it, so that many who may consider themselves well versed in our history, and, perhaps, may be well read in numerous current works, may have never heard of them. Having done this, we may now proceed to enter somewhat briefly on the topic of the birth and parentage of the individual of whom we propose to treat.

It appears from the tenor of Cambrian story, that the descendants of Bran ap Llyr, or Asclepiodotus, an ancient British king, had been on the throne of Dumnonia since the year 304. The troubles incident on the rebellions of Carausius and Allectus were ostensibly the means of bringing this family forward; the said Bran ap Llyr, or Asclepiodotus, having been mainly instrumental at the head of his forces in reducing the latter usurper. Their adherence to the interests of Rome was undoubtedly strong; and so identified did they become with the people whom they governed, that they very usually are called the Dumnonian, or Cornubian family. (See Gunn's *Nennius*, p. 147, and other works.) Several of the heads of this race, besides being rulers of their own state, were elected kings of the Britons. One of the princes of this line acquired, we cannot say how, the chieftainship of a district in North Wales; and this person, whose name was Conan Meriadaug, made a new feature in their history. And what he did was this.

He adopted the cause of Maximus, the well known usurper of the fourth century, and carried over an expedition, composed of great multitudes of the Cambrians, to Armorica, where he and they ultimately settled. The family thus became divided into two branches; the one having sway in their new transmarine location, the other in Britain. Constantine, a distinguished member of the Armorican branch, was invited back to Britain, as we have before alluded to, to be the chief in command against the Saxons; and the branch so returned seems to have obtained, after no long interval, the territories of the other which had remained behind in the island. The Constantine we have mentioned, died possessed of the throne; but, soon after his death, his two sons, then of immature age, were obliged to be conveyed away, owing to political commotions, to the old quarters of the family, in Armorica. After a time they returned, and Aurelius Ambrosius, the eldest son, ascended the throne of Britain; and, after some vicissitudes, became a very prosperous sovereign as well as a successful commander, but left no offspring competent to succeed him. (See the *History* of Gildas, c. 25.) Uther Pendragon, therefore, who had been his principal general, filled his brother's place; and he conducted the affairs of the Britons with very tolerable success from the year 504 to 517; and, being the father of our hero, a remark or two may be required respecting him.

The impression, from all we read of him, which, with one exception, in *Triad* 90, where he is incidentally mentioned, is solely in the ancient *British Chronicles*, is, that he was a rough, uncultivated Celtic chief, with considerable military talents, reminding one of several of the Cambrian leaders of the later Middle Ages. Uther seems to have been a contrast to his brother Ambrosius, who is represented as a person of polish and refinement. As to his acts. He had, it seems, obtained several victories over the Irish and Saxons, as a general to his brother Ambrosius; and, when he came to the throne, he gained personally some further successes over the Saxons, and cultivated a close alliance with the Caledonians, whilst he appears to have left it to his generals to contend with the West Saxons. Uther, except in one instance, as has been said, is unmentioned in the *Triads*; and that instance relates to

some dealings of his with a conjuror, from whom he extorts his secret.

We, perhaps, should add, that the year in which this sovereign came to the throne, is supposed to be sufficiently known by the appearance of a comet, which is mentioned in history. (See Roberts' *Chronicle* of Tysilio, p. 131, and *Britannic Researches*, p. 67.)

To continue. It chanced that there was a viceroy or deputy in Dumnonia under the preceding king, named Gorlais, who had married a Caledonian lady of beauty and accomplishments, daughter of Amlaud, king of Strathclyde; and descended, indeed, from Cael Goedhebaug, the ancient rival of Arthur's family. (See Williams' *Monmouthshire*.) Her name is handed down as Eigyr, Igren or Igerna; and from an illicit connection with this person, afterwards the wife of Uther, Arthur was born. We have this parentage in the *Chronicle* of Tysilio, but it is also in great part confirmed by Nennius in his *History*, c. 63, for our hero is there called "Arthur Mabuter", that is Arthur Uther's son. A feud was carried on afterwards between Uther and Gorlais; and in the end the latter was slain at his fortress of Tintagel, on the Bristol Channel. Leland found a tradition of the country still current in his time, that Arthur was born at Padstow in Cornwall (see his *Collectanea*, iii, 27); but the precise date of his birth is unknown. It probably occurred about the year of the Christian era 499; as some represent him eighteen years of age when he came to the throne, in 517, on the death of his father, though others only fourteen. If eighteen, as Uther was elected king in 504, his birth took place consequently five years before that period, which point we seem necessitated to adopt, contrary to Tysilio, who places the event in the year 504, or soon after. The events connected with his origin are disguised by the form of romance in which they are communicated to us; but we have confined ourselves to what appears to be the main fact of his parentage; avoiding romance as much as possible. ✓

But some one may say, "I not only disregard the account of his origin, but I disbelieve the whole story of Arthur altogether; and consider it nothing more than a fabrication of the Troubadours, or some other inventors of

the same class." We shall endeavour to give proof enough to the contrary. It may be right, however, to make a remark or two on the scepticism which is sometimes found to exist in his behalf.

The nature, then, of our subject is such, that even in this commencing part of it we are obliged to advert to the point, whether there ever was such a person as Arthur, to be able to know that we are treating of a reality, and not of an imaginary personage; to show that he is not a mere non-entity, a creation of the fancy, an illusion, an historical will-o'-the-wisp, a spectre of the Brocken, as some have maintained; and unless we do this, we shall not be proceeding on a due basis.

The cavils on this head, we must intimate, are to be met in two ways: by proofs; and by answering objections; both which methods it will be necessary to adopt. We have not, however, the whole work to do, as it has partially been done before, by various talented individuals, to whom we shall have occasion to refer in the sequel. Our endeavours will now rather be, to render proofs already brought forward more complete, to supply obvious illustrations of his life and times, and approximate the account of him to the usual line of regular history, as far as available materials permit. The prejudices entertained by many on our present subject, are certainly flagrant and unreasonable; which, when they shall be removed, may enable the evidences and elucidations which can be brought forward to be better estimated.

Those who deny the existence of Arthur are not always aware, that they have chronological difficulties to encounter in doing so; and the chronology of his times is sufficiently known, to enable us to bring in an argument with effect on this head. We have a counter objection to propound to objectors, which we have already propounded to them before, in the *Britannic Researches*, on this topic, to which we may safely challenge an answer; namely, if Arthur were not king of the Britons from the year 517 to 542, what other person was? It is pretty certain the interrogation will not be answered; and the objection applies the stronger, when it is considered that those were times when, from the pressure of foreign enemies, they could do less than ever without their usual pendragon or leader

in war. It is known that they had several such leaders before the first of the two dates; and it is known also, that for a century or two after the last of them, they were never without their chief-supreme or generalissimo in war.

As to the direct proofs of his existence, they are comprised within a short compass; and we might as well bring them forward at once, without much comment, as they speak sufficiently for themselves.

He is mentioned, then, by the Cambrian poets Taliesin and Merddin Wyllt, who were his contemporaries. His existence is recorded in the *Histories* of Nennius and Ty-silio, and in the *Armorican Chronicle* of Mount St. Michael, and in the *History* of William of Malmesbury, and not denied by William of Newburgh, the sharpest controversialist of his day, in regard to topics of ancient British history; nor by Polydore Vergil, who mostly rejected the early chronicles. We have, then, a certain weight of authority, which meets us at the first glance of the business; but we shall find, in the sequel, many other evidences, and much additional illustration.

In pursuing, then, our research, we may remind our readers that Arthur, being of the Dumnonian branch of the British Celts, who, within about fifteen years after his death, were entirely set aside from supplying the sovereigns paramount of the Britons, and whose separate literature, with but small exceptions, has altogether perished, he became of less national interest to the Cambrians, either of Wales or of Strathclyde, and so did not obtain a sufficient annalist among them, while the due and proper historians of his own nation had ceased. It is true, that we can safely argue, by induction, that he must have had a somewhat lengthened page in the original history from which the *Triads* were composed; but we infer that, on the appearance of these last, about the beginning of the tenth century, the primary narrative soon became lost or destroyed. It would seem only a very natural consequence, that, in proportion as exact details were wanting, fable would take its place; so we find the British prince become the subject of innumerable romances and legends; and, according to Mr. Roberts, in his *History of the Britons*, p. 145, his story was often represented in pageants, meaning melodramas, or something of the kind. Neither, then,

the author of the *Chronicle*, under the name of Tysilio,—believed to have been written about the year 1000,—nor Giraldus Cambrensis, two centuries afterwards, could find detailed accounts of him clear of the extravagant fictions which are usually connected with his name, life, and exploits. His history from that time, and, indeed, before, has become like an entangled ball of twine, requiring both attention and patience to unravel it.

We will, however, show the present state of current ideas in respect to the general credibility of the life and acts of this ancient commander and king, of whom we now treat; and, continuing somewhat in the line of our preceding research, we may observe, that it is very natural that accounts full of extravagances should make sceptics; and in this case the main vehicle of what was popularly known respecting him, was the *Chronicle* of Tysilio, or, rather, the same as incorporated, in a very distorted form, and with many more revolting extravagances still, in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History*. It could, then, no otherwise be expected, but that the effect of which we have spoken, should be produced; and doubts in abundance have, in consequence, been excited from time to time, not only as to his actions, but as to the reality of his existence. This occasioned Leland, in the reign of Henry VIII, to write his *Assertio Arthuris*, to show, at least, that there was such a person, and that he was a great commander and prince in his time.

Leland must have had weight; nevertheless we find Gerebrard, the chronicler, as quoted by Usher (*Primordia*, p. 272), expressing his disbelief that there ever was such a person, a little subsequent to the middle of the sixteenth century; and there is no doubt that Gerebrard represented a numerous class of disbelievers at that time throughout Europe. From Leland's time, however, opinions have been divided into two classes: some viewing the reality of this insular monarch as an historical fact; others not being persuaded of it. In this state the question remained in the time of Whitaker, who wrote his *History of Manchester* in 1773; and in his 4to. edition examined rather particularly the testimonies in favour of the history of this ancient commander; and, what is more, endeavoured to assign the localities of his twelve noted battles,—a research declined

even so long ago as the twelfth century, by Henry of Huntingdon, on the ground that the names were become obsolete. Archbishop Usher, likewise, in his *Primordia*, had not touched upon this point to any purpose. However, notwithstanding his learning and acuteness, Whitaker failed considerably in his endeavours to ascertain, with precision, the places in which the twelve engagements severally were fought; and assigns some of them to Lancashire, which certainly, at that time, was no battle-field between the contending parties. Several of his assignments were, however, correct; and the fact that some of the localities could be satisfactorily pointed out,—indeed, many of them: a circumstance which was unexpected,—produced very favourable results. His vindication, also, otherwise proved very effective, and, joined to the printing, in 1811, of the genuine text of the *Chronicle* of Tysilio, Geoffrey of Monmouth's original; and the various editions of *Nennius*, in the first half of the present century, and the *Cambrian poets* becoming more read;—all this has prepared the way for the true state of the question being known. We have also the concurring testimonies in the affirmative of Sharon Turner, Lingard, Lappenberg, and Ritson: we will refer, however, more particularly to the whole class of vindicators in our subsequent pages, as we have first to state, somewhat in detail, the objections which we have to meet.

In adverting, then, to the scepticism which, even now, occasionally manifests itself on this topic, there appears an opening to make a remark to advantage.

That part of the literary world which more particularly takes an interest in medieval romances and fictions, in all their endless varieties, is inclined to add this history to the number; not considering any part of it as real history, but as fiction altogether. Indeed, the medieval romances founded on this story, like *capriccios* in music, deviated much from their subject, and were such as to inspire a merited disbelief; and they would most especially have done so, if they had furnished the whole attainable evidence we could have, and there were nought else. Other evidence, however, there was and is. The sentiments, we should say, of historical students are very different; but even some small portion of these may be biassed, by emi-

nent scholars in medieval literature, of the class we have just mentioned.

We have already briefly adverted to a certain series of evidences, to show the proper basis of our present inquiry; we may now, therefore, refer to the objections of a late writer of talent and reputation, whom we must place in the historical class, and who thus may be considered one of the few exceptions to the preceding remark. We must, however, make a qualification, that, though learned and acute, he was somewhat of an irregular genius in various topics of primeval research. Besides, there is scarce a general rule which is not attended by some few exceptions; and we will accordingly take the various objections which he makes, and endeavour to respond to them. They may be found in the *Cyclops Christianus* of the Honourable Algernon Herbert, 8vo., 1849, pp. 212-216.

Mr. Herbert's first, second, third, and fourth *Objections* against the reality of the existence of Arthur, which, though enumerated under four heads, in fact involve only one adverse point, are founded on the mystical and cabalistic ideas connected with his name by the Celts, which ideas and notions of theirs, ranged into various forms of the most shadowy and unreal speculation. But Mr. Herbert ought himself to have been aware of the nature of these vagaries of the Bards, as he treated very fully of them, in the same work whence we have taken these objections. We may observe, that they formed cabalistic and mystical opinions of persons sufficiently known to have existed; as of Maximus, the Roman usurper in Britain, and of others: the doing so, in fact, constituted only a part of the machinery of their poetry. Indeed, it is almost surprising that so acute an inquirer should have raised a difficulty of the kind.

If there be any weight in Mr. Herbert's objections, thus propounded, then neither Cunobeline nor Aurelius Ambrosius, as well as Arthur, had real existence, for mysticism has been busy with each of them. In fact, the Druids first, and the Bards after them, involved themselves deep in mysticism. There was, as it were, a species of market for this commodity in early Britain; and as fresh food was required, from time to time, for the prevailing taste, the feigned supernatural influences, or wonderful adventures,

of this or that personage, were added to the general stock. There was a plentiful accompaniment of genii and demons; and no *bizarre* embellishment was spared. The practice went on increasing, down to an advanced period of the Middle Ages, to which many of the magical tales relating to Arthur indeed belong; and at last it reached its ultimate, and, perhaps, most intense development, in the romances of chivalry. These fictions, after the times of the Druids, were meant for mere amusement; and we may pronounce them harmless, as far as it affects the question of the existence of any known historical character.

His fifth *Objection* is to the name of his father, Uther, which he interprets "supernatural," or "the portent," and as not a name, still less a Roman name, which, in his case, he says, whose lineage is given out as Roman, might have been expected. Accordingly, he considers that this savours of mysticism and romance, more than of reality. In answer, the name Uther, compounded of "uch" and "erch," means no more than what would be expressed in Latin as "præ-terribilis," if there were such a word, or "very terrible;" and, in times altogether warlike, such an appellation might be given to a child intended from his cradle to be a warrior. Nor was it necessary for him to have strictly a Roman name. Ambrosius and Uther Pendragon, though of Roman descent from Asclepiodotus, their ancestor, yet were Celts by nation, habits, and associations. No ancient authority implies, that the father of the two brothers was a Roman. Gildas merely says, that Ambrosius was of a Roman family—"gentis Romanæ," nothing more; implying, that his descent was originally from the Romans; and the head of the family, the Roman ancestor, we know lived many generations previous to his time.

Objection sixth is, that Arthur had three wives, all of the same name, Gwenhwyvar, and daughters of different people; which could not be meant for a fact. And why not? Should not that last circumstance have opened the eyes of the certainly highly learned and talented objector, that the name was titular? Gwenhwyvar, Weneveria, or Gwenever, is varied, in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History*, ix., 9, in a way apparently more reasonable than usual with that author; for he informs us that she was named "Gwanhumara," which imports, in the ancient British

language, high lady, or queen. It consequently may easily be imagined, that the wife of the king of the Britons was usually styled so ; at least, in those times. We have not the wife of any other pendragon of this era mentioned by name ; and thus, we are so far deprived of corroboration. However, this explanation removes the inconsistency of the three queens being all of the same name ; and also clears Arthur of being necessarily either a bigamist, trigamist, or polygamist ; as there might have been intermediate divorces. The usual term "*Gwenhwyvar*," we may add, has much the same signification ; but the former appears to show the nature and formation of the title more obviously.

Objection seventh goes to the same point as the first four ; namely, that the history of Arthur is a mere myth of the same class as several in the *Mabinogion* ; as the concealment of Bran's head, the imprisonment of Elphin, etc., etc. In reply, see the answer to the said first four objections.

Objection eighth is, that neither Gildas nor Bede mention Arthur. In reply, Gildas neither mentions the British king Constantine, nor his son Constans, nor Uther Pendragon. Indeed, his subject did not indispensably require it ; for that turned on other points besides the line of ancient British history. But here Mr. Herbert might have objected, that likewise Gildas had omitted to mention him in any other historical work ; and duly to respond to this, we must be allowed a short digression, to show that a political feud of the day, attended with a tragical catastrophe, which came very nearly home to Gildas, prevented him from becoming his biographer. We have already briefly alluded to the affair in our preceding chapter, but must here endeavour to set it forth a little more in length, though we can only collect the circumstances of it somewhat imperfectly, from the *Life of Gildas*, by Caradoc of Lancarvan, cc. 5 and 6 ; but the facts seem pretty well ascertained to have been these :

Howel, son of the Strathclyde king, whose name we have before mentioned as given with some uncertainty, in the forms Caw, Can, and Gawolan, was the eldest of a numerous family of brothers, of whom Gildas Badonicus was one. We are not able to specify which of the Strathclyde states was the one which owned Caw, or Gaw-

olan for its lord: soon, however, after the conclusion of Arthur's Saxon wars in the north and middlemost parts of England, or about the year 534, this Howel, otherwise called Huail, came to the throne after his father's death, and acquired great popularity among the Britons; that is, we may understand, more especially among the Caledonian Britons. We know not the intermediate steps of the affair, but he put himself forward as a candidate for the pen-dragonship of the island, and soon became at variance with Arthur, the possessor of that dignity; making frequent inroads into some patrimonial territories which Arthur possessed, near Carlisle. There is no indication, however, that he received much support from the Britons generally. For, according to the tenour of these accounts, his retreat being cut off in one of these inroads, he was fain to flee to the Isle of Man, to which place he was quickly followed by his rival, and slain. Arthur exulted, as having freed himself from a most formidable opponent; but a heavy load of grief oppressed Gildas, his brother, then engaged in teaching, as a missionary, at Armagh, under the auspices of the Irish king, who was for a time inconsolable. Returning to Britain shortly subsequently, he was received by St. Cadoc, and met by Arthur, with the British princes and clergy, soon after his landing; and the slayer of his brother having asked pardon, was forgiven, and even is said to have received a kiss of peace and a blessing, while the stern British warrior was overcome with tears. The description of the scene is thus given: "At ille sicut primitus fecerat cognito rumore de obitu fratris, indulsit inimico: veniam postulanti osculum dedit, et benignissimo animo benedixit osculatum. Hoc peracto rex Arthurus dolens et lacrimans," etc.—*Vita Gildæ*, c. 6. In English: "But he, Gildas, as he had done from the first, when the rumour reached him of his brother's death, forgave his enemy. On his requesting pardon, he gave him a kiss, and when he had done so, blessed him with the greatest benignity; and while this was transacting, the king, Arthur, burst out into wailing and tears," etc. However, though this might have been so, yet to this cause is attributed that the saint never mentioned him in his writings on ancient British matters.

Giraldus Cambrensis may be allowed to speak on this

subject, who has a passage in point, in his *De Illaudibilibus Walliæ*,—that is, on the objectionable things of Wales,—c. 27, which is only to be found in print in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, vol. ii., p. 448, c. 11. By that, it appears that Gildas both wrote an account of Arthur and of the Dumnonian family. The words of the author are curious, and are well deserving to be given in the original, with the exact translation. They are as follows:

“De Gildâ vero qui adeo in gentem suam acriter invehitur dicunt Britones quod propter fratrem suum Albanix principem quem rex Arthurus occiderat offensus hoc scripsit, unde et libros egregios quos de gestis Arthuri et gentis suæ laudibus multis scripserat auditâ fratris sui nece omnes ut asserunt in mare projecit; cujus rei causâ nihil de tanto principe in scriptis authenticis expressum invenies.” This in English is: “The Britons say, in respect to Gildas, who inveighs so much against his own nation, that he wrote under the excitement of the death of his brother, prince of Albania (*i.e.*, Strathclyde), whom Arthur the king had put to death; also, they assert, that from the same cause, when he heard of his brother's death, he threw a number of excellent books into the sea, in which he had treated with much commendation of the deeds of Arthur, and of those of his family. From this cause, you will find no account of so eminent a prince in authentic writings.”

We have already explained, at the previous page 79, that the marginal note in the *Cambridge Manuscript*, A, professing to give information that a history of the British kings and their wars was written by Gildas Badonicus, and that the same was committed by those potentates to the flames, is, in all probability, entirely without foundation. It appears, indeed, to have been based on an error entertained by the medieval editor of the said Manuscript, to which we have before sufficiently alluded; and have pointed out that the fact to which he refers, relates more obviously to quite a different transaction. We thus clear away the superfluous matter; and the account of Giraldus is thereby the rather substantiated: we mean, so far that no opposite account is set up.

The work of Gildas, then, which actually went to the point of being a memoir of Arthur and of his family, is

perished. Arthur lost his biographer, the writer whom Giraldus would have considered authentic; the vigorous and truthful touches of whose pen would have saved his memory from the records of folly and bombast. But it seems certain enough that Gildas has an allusion, though merely an allusion, to Arthur in his subsequent work, *De Excidio Britannicæ*, c. 32.

That passage is, indeed, one which is singularly enigmatical; but is apparently of only one interpretation, which is, that it applies to our British prince. It occurs in the invective addressed by Gildas against one of the island kings named Cuneglas, who was contemporary with himself. It has been necessary to touch upon this passage before, in order to fix a chronological point connected with the first publication of the *De Excidio*; and here we must touch again upon it, to meet Mr. Herbert's objections, being much connected with our subject; and we must likewise now give the words in which it is expressed, which we have not done on the former occasion:

"Ut quid in nequitia voveris vetustâ fece, et tū ab adolescentiæ annis Urse multorum sessor, Aurigaque currus receptaculi Ursi, Dei contemtor sortisque ejus depressor, Cuneglas! Romanâ linguâ lanio (leo) fulve," etc., etc. We may render this into English thus: "And thou, too (of whom I now speak), who hast been wallowing from youth in thine accustomed dregs of iniquity; thou, the Bear, the ruler of many, and the charioteer of the car of the Bear; thou art the contemner of God, and the depresser of his inheritance (the Church), O Cuneglas! whose name, translated into the Roman tongue, implies tawny lion," etc.

It would seem from this, that, though a reconciliation had taken place between Gildas and Arthur, as we have just seen, yet that, nevertheless, the saint did not consider his late brother's antagonist as exempt from admonitions given, as his were, from a good motive. Arthur, therefore, at the time of writing the *De Excidio*, was included in the species of pastoral reproofs addressed, as they now stand, more particularly to five kings, therein named, of the island. There is scarcely any doubt, from the context, that he originally made the sixth. This being so, we have explained sufficiently before how the name Arthur admits

of being interpreted *Arth-erch*, or "fierce bear": and there is but little doubt that Gildas had represented him, under that similitude, as dilacerating his brother. This explains why Cuneglas, who is said to have been a king of a small district between the Severn and the Wye, and whom we may understand to have been Arthur's aider and abettor, is reproached in terms by which Arthur is alluded to: that is, by calling him a "bear" too; or one like his master; the "Bear's charioteer", etc.

We have thus again had occasion to refer to this mention of Cuneglas in the *De Excidio*, so highly useful in illustrating the nature of that work, as also our present subject, of Arthur Mabuter. If the reader will turn to page 75, *ante*, he will see how it is that the text of Gildas stands as it does at present with regard to the terms used in respect to this person: namely, that Arthur having died before the work was ultimately completed, the part relating to him was struck out; while the lines applying to Cuneglas were allowed to remain.

Lewis Morris, the antiquary, in one of his letters on Welsh history, written in 1745, and printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for July 1790, pp. 589-591, is inclined to think that the expressions implied that Cuneglas was chief charioteer, *i. e.*, Master of the Horse to Arthur. We mention this to give the reader the benefit of his criticism, though it does not appear to be of any weight.

In regard to Bede: he was writing an ecclesiastical history, and therefore might not have mentioned a warrior whose acts were not immediately connected with the topics of which he treated.

Objection 9, is, that the actual successes in war of Arthur Mabuter were not considerable enough to establish so high a reputation as he possesses in bardism, since he did not expel the Saxons, and deliver his countrymen; and that, therefore, his whole story, from beginning to end, is no more than fiction, and a tale of mythology. In answer, we may maintain the contrary to the first part of the objection, namely, that his successes were considerable, though he did not drive out the Saxons. As to the second part, it may be affirmed that Arthur's victories having prevented the Saxons from rapidly consummating their conquest of the island; and his keeping these fierce invaders at bay

for a quarter of a century, supported, as they were, by the whole of Germany, and, as it may be said, by the north of Europe, is an achievement of great magnitude, and sufficient to found a real reputation upon, without its being necessary to suppose that the account of his actions is a mere mythological tale of the bards.

Mr. Herbert divides *Objection* 10 into two portions: first, that no poetical evidence is receivable in authentication of mythological heroes and warrior saints, in the way of proving their real existence as military chiefs. But with this we have nothing to do; not appearing to be required to answer it one way or the other; as we do not class the personage of whom we treat in either category. Secondly, he advances that Arthur (*i.e.*, *Yarddur*) is only mentioned by Lowarch-Hên, in his *Moranad on Geraint map Erbyn*, as a mythological being. With this we have again nothing to do, as the same *Yarddur* who commanded in the battle of *Llongborth*, in 501, was a different person, and lived somewhat prior to *Arthur Mabuter*, as we have elsewhere noticed. Mr. Herbert, however, is much in error in supposing him, the said *Yarddur*, to have been invested with a mythological character in the poem, there being no trace whatever of any such thing.

The existence of legends and fictions, founded on the life and actions of *Arthur*, we do not deny. It is only natural, that poets and romancers should take advantage of the scope afforded them by his adventures. We would ask how legendary fictions can be considered of consequence in this question. Are not numerous legends connected with the name of *Charlemagne*? But *Charlemagne* had a biographer in his contemporary *Eginhart*, which has brought him within the pale of regular history: an advantage which has been very imperfectly supplied to *Arthur* by the British history of *Nennius*. The actual point is, not what fictions are united and blended with the information come down respecting a reputed historical personage, but rather, what real proofs are there that such a personage ever existed. Sufficient proofs there are in this case which should satisfy us. It is, of course, a liability of eminent historical characters of remote ages, to become subjects for legend and fiction, when detailed accounts have not been preserved, or requisite authentic memorials; and

that it is so, proves highly embarrassing to investigators of later times.

Mr. Pinkerton, in his *Inquiry into the History of Scotland*, 8vo., 1789, vol. i., p. 76, is inclined to think that Arthur is no other than Aurelius Ambrosius, who was a great champion of the Britons in his day. The idea is, however, wholly inconsistent with chronology: Aurelius Ambrosius, who commanded one of the divisions of the Britons at the battle of Aylesford, in the year 455, as the *Chronicle* of Matthew of Westminster informs us, could never have survived to the year 542, which was that of Arthur's death. In fact, two kings reigned during the intervening period after him: Uther Pendragon, and Arthur.

We shall now touch somewhat cursorily on those authors who have employed their pens to show that he was a real historical character: to whom, indeed, the candid inquirer after truth is certainly indebted to some considerable amount.

Leland, of whom we have before spoken,—the celebrated, and indeed, almost the only antiquary of the days of Henry VIII.,—was the first who wrote in vindication of that portion of British history which relates to the reality of the reign of our ancient British prince, as king paramount and generalissimo of the Celtic population of our island. His work entitled *Assertio Arthuri*, was printed in 12mo., 1525, and more recently in vol. v. of his *Collectanea*, published by Hearne, and forms a species of rude essay on the subject. A casual reader might possibly derive but little benefit from it, owing to the confusion of the arrangement, and the great obsolescence of the diction: suffice it to say, that the main part of his information is derived primarily from a work of Giraldus Cambrensis, which we shall notice in our subsequent pages, entitled his *Liber Distinctionum*, which he erroneously calls his *Speculum Ecclesiæ*; and secondarily, from a manuscript or two which he saw at the abbey of Glastonbury, at his visit to it before its dissolution; as also from the oral communication of some of the monks. Leland certainly took up a position of importance in his day, as to the inquiry; but in our times, it may be considered more desirable to consult the *Liber Distinctionum* itself, at the first hand, as also the *Institutio Principis* of Giraldus,—which last work Leland

does not appear to have seen,—than to endeavour to collect the substance of what that author says from his pages. Thus Leland's work, as to the main purport of it, becomes superseded. Likewise, it is necessary to notify, by way of caution, that the *Assertio Arthuris* has been somewhat detrimental to the investigation of the subject, by introducing a false chronology as respects the disinterment of the remains of Arthur at Glastonbury; as we shall see when we come to treat of that event.

From him we may revert to Mr. Whitaker, the historian of Manchester, of whom we have also before spoken, and mentioned his endeavours to assign the localities of the twelve battles of the British king, which excited much notice. Besides his doing this, and his remarks in his *History of Manchester*, he made personally some investigations at Glastonbury abbey, relative to our present topic, which were not altogether without their results. For instance, he ascertained the real existence of the two obelisks, though then applied to common purposes. He verified also the circumstance, that the inscribed cross of lead continued extant down to modern times, having been but a few years before his time in possession of Mr. Chancellor Hughes, of Wells. We shall have occasion, at a subsequent page, to refer most specially to the obelisks and inscribed cross, which are much mentioned in the alleged discovery of the remains of this ancient king, in the twelfth century.

Subsequent to the foregoing we may place an author, Mr. Ritson, who died in 1803, and is chiefly known as an editor of various volumes of medieval English poetry. He left beside, at the time of his decease, three works: his *Letters*, his *Annals of Strathclyde and Caledonia*, and his *Life of Arthur*, which were afterwards published posthumously, and the latter in 1825. This last work consists of translations, in general extremely faulty, of the account in the *Institutio Principis* of Giraldus, and of almost every other document in which the name of the British prince is mentioned. There is besides in it, a long translated extract from William of Newburgh; and also the substance of much of the contents of Nennius and Geoffrey of Monmouth is given. It is to be regretted that the work is written somewhat in a scoffing style, which is reprehensible

altogether; and his remarks are rather desultory on the main topic of his pages, whilst his notes are numerous on various subjects. The editor in his advertisement says, that in his earlier researches, he (Ritson) had doubted of the reality of the existence of his hero. This implies that these, his later ones, had convinced him of the fact. It may then be suspected that the work, notwithstanding the profession of the editor, may be somewhat incomplete, otherwise it might be thought that he, Mr. Ritson, would not have omitted alluding to his later-entertained views, which had brought more conviction to his mind than his former ones.

Sharon Turner is next to be mentioned as one of the illustrators of the life and times of Arthur. His *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, 4to., 1807, contains so clear a statement of the case concerning him, pp. 101-108, that the prevalence and continuance of many notorious errors on the subject since, are almost surprising. Not but that his explanations are extremely brief, and his acquaintance with many of his authorities very superficial; yet the correctness of his judgment enabled him to point out the true line of events, which would seem the more properly to belong to more extensive research.

He devotes nearly the same space to the topic of the origin of the numerous *Romances* connected with the story of Arthur, pp. 108-116, as he had done to the consideration of the events of this era. He labours to prove this whole series of fictions as exclusively Armorican, shewing the transmigration thither of literary men, clergy, and others, as the Saxon conquests advanced in Britain. He may or may not be correct, that much of the story of Arthur may have been concocted there;—the poetical parts, we mean, for there is no vestige that the Welch bards ever made it the subject of their lays, their mention of this prince being only occasional;—but he is unquestionably in error in supposing that the original document used by Geoffrey of Monmouth, in compiling his *History*, originated in those regions, there being no internal evidence to that effect in the *Chronicle* itself. It is easy to see, that the effect of this part of the theory of Mr. Sharon Turner has been disparaging to the existing remains of ancient British literature.

Besides this, Mr. Turner certainly knew but little of

the international divisions of the ancient Britons. Also, the two earlier authors of the isle, Gildas and Nennius, were then but little understood, in comparison to what they have been since, by the publication of late editions: he therefore, at times, assumes some facts which are now known not to be correct; and again, at other times, omits much highly important to his subject, which might be brought forward.

Lingard and Lappenberg, whom we have before mentioned, received this part of ancient British history—obviously from their leading ideas on the subject as to the general state of the case, since neither of them were intimately acquainted with its details. Indeed, they had only imperfectly caught the thread of the insular story. Lingard quotes *Nennius*, c. 1, and *Gildas*, c. 25, for Ambrosius perishing in the war of Guitolinus; whereas, in reality, neither of them say a syllable on that point. He wrongly makes Rhiothimus to have been Arthur, and mistakes the Saxons for the Scots, in the victory gained by the Britons in the year 429, called the Halleluiatic victory. Lingard's testimony will be found at p. 71 of his *History*.

Lappenberg enjoys a considerable European reputation, and has written an elaborate work, bearing on the early history of this island. Had his testimony been adverse, the impression on the continent would have been almost impossible to remove, owing to the fame of the writer. We have, however, no difficulty of that kind imposed upon us, as Lappenberg admits unreservedly the existence of Arthur, and acknowledges his strenuous exertions for the welfare of his country. (See his *Anglo-Saxons*, pp. 101, 102, and 110, Thorpe's edition.)

Two that we have mentioned at a shortly preceding page, Sharon Turner and Ritson, may be deemed to have laboured under a disadvantage, in having indited their works previous to the appearance of the edition by Roberts of the *Chronicle* of Tysilio. It would, doubtless, have assisted them both materially in their respective departments. It would have afforded the former intelligent writer much insight into the nature and structure of the ancient British chronicles, and tended to moderate his Armorican theory; while it would have given to the latter

some portion of that further information of which he appeared to be desirous.

Though we thus speak in approval of Tysilio's *Chronicle*, as published by Roberts, yet it must be confessed, that these editorial labours of the learned author constitute the most unequal performance that perhaps ever appeared. It made a great advance in some respects, and a great retrogression in others. The author frequently forms his conclusions in defiance of dates ; and, indeed, in defiance of the results of his own researches. His mistakes are as copious and glaring, as his right conclusions at times are striking. Imaginary difficulties are frequently raised by him, which seem quite unwarranted ; and yet there are instances in which he resolves real obscurities with the greatest tact. He is, besides, very defective in the arrangement of his materials. His other work,—his *Sketch of Early British History*,—though a very useful compilation, presents the same characteristics.

It is a circumstance almost unexampled, and not easily to be accounted for, that the Cambrians, having a document so important as the work of Tysilio, for the illustration of the history of their country, should have so long delayed to publish it. It had, indeed, been proclaimed as the original of Geoffrey of Monmouth, so far back as the publication of Wynne's *History of Wales*, in 1697, who specially directed attention to the manuscript in Jesus College Library, Oxford, inscribed with Tysilio's name in the title, while the same manuscript was also cited by Bishop Gibson, in his edition of Camden's *Britannia*, as apparently the original of Geoffrey of Monmouth ; but it was the movement in Cambrian literature by Owen Pughe, and the spirit of inquiry he excited, which brought it out, by prompting Mr. Peter Roberts,—a good scholar, though with the abatement we have just mentioned,—to undertake the transferring it from the Celtic, and publishing it, which he did ; and as far as regards the translation, with almost uniform ability ; and as to the editorship otherwise, partially so. However, in the meantime, an opposition had sprung up to all literature of the Cambrian class ; which has rendered even such valuable labours, under all qualifications, as those of Mr. Roberts, less noticed than should have been the case. Nevertheless, the time for the rise of

Celtic literature in this country is coming on; and is even now accelerated, by the numerous able works which have been issued of late years from the Cambrian, and, indeed, from the London press.

So much in answer to objections. In continuing our observations generally on this subject, it may be especially pointed out, that it adds to the uncertainty of all we know connected with this prince, that there is a difficulty of obtaining chronological data respecting the times in which he lived. Those who have paid attention to ancient British history, cannot fail to notice what an extensive illustration a few dates, obtained collaterally or otherwise, make in the narratives of Aurelius Ambrosius and Vortigern; but, in the case of Arthur, there is not the same scope of noting time; save that the dates of his birth, succession to the crown, and decease, are supposed popularly to be known. We must, therefore, endeavour to extort a species of chronology from what we may term somewhat unwilling data. In the result we are enabled to do this, so as to be able to request the reader's acquiescence and reliance with some degree of confidence.

His battles in the north of Britain, with the Saxons, from a comparison of all the accounts, seem to have been, with the exception of one of them (which will be noted presently), during consecutive campaigns, till at last a pacification was effected with these his inveterate foes. His hostilities, accordingly, in this quarter, with the exception as above, may all be thought to be included within a lapse of eight years before the year 525 had expired. This agrees with the dates in Matthew of Westminster, which, though we cannot receive them as evidence, not knowing their origin, are, in all probability, altogether correct for this part of his career.

We must be content to give the names solely of Arthur's twelve battles, without details, except, indeed, partially in one instance; for though details, to some extent, are supplied in Tysilio's *Chronicle*, pp. 139-141, yet it is not known how far they may be borrowed from romance. However, it is considered that we can depend, at least, upon the names of the scenes of action which have been communicated to us both by Tysilio and Nennius, and also are found in the *History* of Henry of Huntingdon; for there is no reason-

able doubt but that he actually fought and conquered at the places specified. Since the time of Whitaker, several who have taken the matter in hand, have been able to improve much on the data he has given us. We may, therefore, adopt those that have been suggested by one or the other investigator, adding only two variations of our own.

The first eight battles appear to extend from the year 517 to 525, occurring, as has been said, in the north of Britain and in Caledonia:—1. Battle on the river Glen, or Glein, in Northumberland, where there is such a river. 2, 3, 4, and 5. Battles on the Dubglas, in Limnuis, *i.e.*, on the river Dunglas in Lothian. There is, likewise, such a river there; and Lothian is called “Loeneis” in a pipe-roll of Henry the Second. 6. A battle on the river Bassas, apparently the river Pease, also in Lothian, though there is likewise another river of the same name on the borders of Lancashire and Cumberland. 7. A battle in the Forest of Celidon, which appears to imply the Sylva Caledonia itself, or the forest of that name in Scotland, in the country of the Picts, who had, at this time, for many years been the allies of the Saxons. 8. A battle at Castle Guinnion. “Castellum”, the word used, implies an entrenched Roman city, or town; and, more especially, it may be understood a walled city or town. Guinnion would, therefore, be Vinovium, or Binchester, in the county of Durham, which was a walled town. All these places, it will be observed, would have been within the ancient northern kingdoms of the Saxons, or in the country of their allies, the Picts.

Nennius does not mention the Saxon commanders to whom he was opposed; but Tysilio specially mentions their names, in his *Chronicle*, as Cledric (Cheldric), Colgrin, and Baldolf. Suffice it to say, that these personages are entirely unknown in history, but they may be judged to be those who ruled in the Saxon kingdoms of Bernicia and Deira, in those days; or their generals.

The Saxons had become established, as has been noted once or twice before in previous pages, since the year 455, in the north of Britain. They settled there at first, under Ohta and Ebissa, in the time of Hengist. Aurelius Ambrosius and Uther Pendragon contended with them strenuously; and, subsequently to them, the contest was continued

by Arthur, whose manful efforts seem to have much checked their career. After he was removed from the scene, they had, in course of time, further wars with the Britons, as we have before noticed, in chapter ii.; and in the year 570 they conquered all the eastern part of the kingdom of Strathclyde immediately to their north: in which year the battle of Gododin was fought, the subject of the poetical talents of Aneurin. These were the people to whom, and their allies, the Picts, Arthur Mabuter was opposed in these eight engagements; when, we may understand, after so much warlike dispute, a period of peace took place in these northern parts.

The voice of antiquity appears to have appropriated to the patriotic British king a species of permanent territory at Carlisle and in that quarter; where it is implied that he resided during the intervals when there was a lull in the hostilities, and held his court. See the authority quoted by Roberts in his edition of Tysilio's *Chronicle*, p. 225; and the Scottish metrical romance referred to by Ritson in his *Life of Arthur*, p. 93; and two passages in Bishop Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, vol. iii., pp. 11, 335. There may be, perhaps, further chronicle or other evidence to the point; and the idea of his being so much in these quarters, when he is described as engaged in scenes of peace, seems uniformly connected with his holding territories here.

Respecting its being a reality, that domain lands were held by the British sovereigns in this vicinity, it may be noted that it is incontestable that the British pendragons, or rulers paramount, had such districts or tracts of lands in various parts of the island. Witness their cemetery at Stonehenge, and the towns they founded, or restored, as noted by John Rouse the chronicler, who made this the chief point of his research: which towns seem more particularly to have been where there were no powerful British states established, or where we infer, from various indications, that the power of some British subordinate state had become dormant, or extinct, of which instances might be mentioned. But as to our present point. We read, in the *History* of Nennius, c. 66, of a civil war, and battle between Aurelius Ambrosius and a chieftain, or subordinate king, in these parts, named Guitolinus, at a place called Guoloph.

This, admitting it to have been Castle Wellep (the ancient Galatum, mentioned by Antoninus), is only seventeen miles south-east of Carlisle. Thirteen miles, again, from this, in the same direction, is a place still bearing the significant name of Pendragon Castle, which is near Kirby Stephens. These data may be sufficient to form grounds for our surmises of the acquisitions which might have been made in this vicinity by the British kings during civil commotions.

As for the next seven years, there is only one evidence for his being, during that period, in the north of England, that is, the battle of Agned, or Edin, or Edinburgh; for his three other battles take place more properly in central Britain, and one of them as far south as the Thames. It may be suspected, however, as many of his military operations had evidently the character of surprises, where any imperfect details are mentioned, that, from his popularity in the North during the Saxon war, and being able, at all times, to collect together a large body of men at a short notice, he was accustomed to traverse great distances, and to appear suddenly on any point where the Saxons or Picts were in the field in force. The poems of the Bretons certainly seem to favour the idea, for they speak of his army in march suddenly appearing on the hills with all due paraphernalia of war. The appearing thus unexpectedly with his troops, is evidently an idea now connected with him in Brittany; therefore it may be concluded it was founded on some facts of the case anciently. We may cite a line or two from the *Bale Arzur*, or "Arthur's March", from the Count de la Villemarqué's *Barzas Breis*, vol. i., p. 84:

Mab ar chadour a lavare
Lavare d'he dad : eur beure
Marc hegerien war lein ar bre !

In English: "The warrior's son said to his father one morning, there are horsemen coming over the hills." After which is described the impromptu advance of a most powerful force of cavalry headed by the redoubtable chief himself. The conclusion then is, that we do not know for certainty his whereabouts for those seven years, but that it may be suspected to have been still chiefly in the north. We now, however, proceed to detail his four last battles.

9. A battle at Caerleon, which preferably, in this case, is Warwick, as John Rouse, in his *Chronicle*, p. 53, ascertained it to have been anciently so called. It will be admitted that it is not probable that it was Caerleon in Gwent in South Wales, for the Saxons appear never to have had a footing there; nor was Caerleon the obvious name of Chester, which was usually called Deva. 10. A battle at the river Trat Treuroit, unknown. In fact, strictly speaking, no name is given here; for the battle of Trat Treuroit appears merely to imply the "battle of the Ford or Passage of the Estuary." It would seem that, in the narrative used by Marcus in 822, from which this list of twelve victories was taken, some place was mentioned at which military transactions occurred: after which this victory was described as gained at the passage of an estuary near at hand. 11. A battle at Agned: in one copy of Nennius called Agned Cath Bregonium. Agned was the ancient name for Edin, or Edinburgh, in those days, which was the capital of the eastern part of Strathclyde. This implies the resuscitation of the war in the North, and an invasion of Strathclyde by the Saxons or Picts, their allies, and a battle there by Arthur, to expel them; which, it appears, he did, for Agned, Edin, or Eiddin, remained down to the year 570 in possession of the Britons. 12. A battle at Caer Vyddau, or Silchester; not at Mount Badon, with which it has been confused. The battle at Mount Badon was fought by Ambrosius, not Arthur, and about forty years before. In corroboration, Gildas appears to speak of the battle of Mount Badon in connexion with Ambrosius. The *Chronicle* of Tysilio, p. 141, seems clear on the point; and the Irish Nennius, p. 113, also supports it: indeed, it must needs be so, for it is obvious, from a reference to the *History* of Gildas, and the date he gives, that the battle of Mount Badon took place several years before Arthur was born.

There is still further evidence in the verses of Taliesin on the battle in question, which we may here give, and they are as follow:

Gwae intwy yr invydion pan vy waith Vaddon
 Arthur benn haelion y lafneu by gochion
 Gwnaeth ar y alon gwaith gwyr gafynion
 Gouynion gwaed daredd mach deyrn ygogledd,
 Heb drais heb drossedd.

In English: "Alas! hapless were they in the battle of Vaddon, when blood tinged the sword of Arthur, head supreme of the princes, when he revenged the blood which had been shed of the heroes, by whose aid the kingdoms of the North had been long upheld."

In remark on the above, it appears obvious enough that Vaddon stands for Vyddau; and it is perfectly superfluous to say Badon was meant, as the use of the B is quite common in the poems of Taliesin.

There is a somewhat detailed, though confused, description of the battle of Caer Vyddau, or Silchester, in the *Chronicle* of Tysilio, and in Buchanan's *History of Scotland* from Scotch chronicles. We may gather that the Saxons were beleaguering this fortified city in very large bodies, and that Arthur marched from the north with his army to its relief. It would appear that his approach through the parts which were still held by the Britons was unsuspected; and that, arriving within five miles of the Saxon positions in the evening, he found not only that they were unapprised of his advance, but were lying, as they supposed, in security, and unprepared for an immediate attack. He therefore made a furious onset upon them the same night, passed their entrenchment, and overthrew them, as they lay encamped, with great slaughter; and the next day routed them again terribly, when, having somewhat rallied, they had gathered together on the adjoining high ground. This great victory, which we may place in the year 532, appears to have been followed by an immediate peace with Cerdic and the now powerful West Saxon kingdom. The two former battles also, the ninth and tenth, it will be easily understood, were to prevent the Saxons from occupying the central parts of Britain: an object which they accomplished about forty years later.

To continue with our chronological attempt to illustrate our subject.

This peace then of 532, for so we assign it, forms the great feature of the times. Rudborne apparently tells truth in regard to this pacification, and admits that the British king ceded much to the Saxons. Indeed, the latter had obtained a great victory at Cerdicsford in 527, and conquered the Isle of Wight, with a great slaughter, in 530. Roberts, however, supposes, in his *Chronicle* of Tysilio,

p. 181, that the Saxons acknowledged his sovereignty of Britain in return for the concession,—as, indeed, is most probable ; which, nevertheless, if it were so, would only have been a fallacious honour and distinction, in exchange for Kent, Sussex, Hampshire, and some other important districts. However, we must consider the prevailing ideas of the times ; as we find it recorded in history, that Honorius, the emperor of the west, ceded, in the year 412, to the Burgundians a district near the Rhine, in Gallia Belgica ; as also Ætius, the general of Valentinian III, authorized, in 440, the Alans to occupy and possess a territory in Gaul.

So much for this peace. Now to make use of it for chronological purposes, we must divide it into two portions. It began, as is usually admitted, about the year 532, and ended in 542, by the battle of Camlan, and the renewal of the Saxon dispute. The dividing point is Arthur's quitting Britain to engage in wars in which his allies, the Armoricans, had an interest ; which event we may place in the year 537. There are, then, four or five years in which he is believed to have been less in the north of Britain than on former occasions. One reason for judging so, is, that there was the feud with Howel the Caledonian prince, who became king on the death of his father. We have before noticed his opposition, and the unfortunate catastrophe with which his enterprise was attended. He was put to death, as is well known ; but the loss of their favourite chief must have made Arthur himself unpopular with these Caledonian Britons, and we hear of him no more in the North. Indeed, the next year he is at Menavia in South Wales, along with the heads of the Church and other British princes, awaiting the arrival of Gildas from Ireland, the brother of Howel, in order to a reconciliation with him ; which is effected, as noted at a previous page. We judge him, then, not to have been in the North of our island, during this period, for a continuance ; and the more especially as, in this interval, an expedition of some magnitude to the north seas, and what we may denominate a flying expedition to Ireland, are to be assigned. We venture then to place against these four years—(1) his residence in his own patrimonial territories of Dumnonia ; (2), his progresses or travels in various parts of Britain ;

and (3 and 4), the said military events which have been just alluded to.

Regarding Arthur's metropolis, we find, by *Triads* 52, 64, and 111, that it was Galliwig, or Celliwig, where his queen resided. *Triad* 52 tells us that the place was ravaged; by which it might have become more insignificant in after times; though some think it was the Caer Celemion mentioned as one of the twenty-eight cities of Britain by *Nennius*.

However, a great difficulty is presented in endeavouring to identify this place. Usher and various antiquaries have supposed it Camalet. If so, Celliwig was out of Dumnonia, and situated in the adjoining province of the Belgæ; which, no doubt, is not impossible, as the same may be judged to have been, at that time, a dependency. Nevertheless, we venture to conclude rather that the contrary may be the case. Add to this, we are entirely without documental evidence that Celliwig, or Celemion, is Camalet: indeed, on the contrary, the ancient map in Hereford cathedral, going back to the twelfth or thirteenth century, shews pretty clearly that Camalet was then called Cadan. The inference from the above seems to be, that the site of Galliwig, or Celliwig, is at present unknown.

The Cottonian Manuscript, VESPASIAN, A. XIV., in the *Life of St. Carantoc*, mentions Dindraithon as a species of head-quarters of Arthur at one period during the career of that saint. There is, however, nothing to shew how long he continued there, or for what cause he resided there. This place, if not the present Drayton in Shropshire, would appear to have been somewhere in that quarter, as Carrum, *i.e.* Caer Rhun, or Conovium, in Carnarvonshire, is mentioned in connexion with it. It may be observed further, that, in the *Life of St. Illutus*, in the same collection, it is related that the saint visited the court of Arthur, his relation, sailing thither from Armorica by sea. Beyond this, the situation of it is not described. It will be explained in a subsequent page, that the place called the Palace of Arthur, in the province of Goyr (Gower), in one of the *Lives of the Saints*, is not to be assigned to the Arthur of whom we now treat (Arthur Mabuter), but belonged to another person. It is likewise not improbable that the court visited by Illutus comes under the same category.

But the voice of tradition is not altogether silent as to his palace and residence, and is said to pronounce that Arthur's palace was in the Hundred of Trigg, in Cornwall; and there the inhabitants designate a place as "Arthur's Hall", which, they say, was the exact spot. It is inserted in Norden's map, as also in the Ordnance Survey, where it is placed two miles somewhat to the north of east from St. Breward's church. The locality is rather desolate, and only foundations remain, which, notwithstanding it stands in an elevated situation, are, owing to a depression of the ground, covered with water. But little appears known about it; nor is anything suggested, besides the name, to connect it with its supposed ancient occupant.

Several kings of this race, it perhaps should be observed, seem noticeable for their migratory habits, as Constantine of Armorica, Uther Pendragon, and Arthur himself, who all seem frequently to have traversed various parts of the island.

In respect to these perambulatory habits. The commonly received accounts of Arthur represent him as attended by two individuals, who seem to have been his almost constant companions. These two persons are described as Bedwer, his "pincerna", or butler, *i. e.*, the master of his entertainments; and Cai, his "treasurer", or indeed, literally, his "collector", as his name (Cais) imports. Allowing for the early days in which our hero lived, this person would be called, as we have done above, a treasurer, in modern times. The *Lives of the Saints* mention these persons to have been his attendants, as also that certain military chieftains, or knights, were so too. Their accounts likewise imply that he was accompanied by his body-guard. To the topic of his retainers we shall again recur.

To speak of the descent on Ireland, which must be placed about this time. Such an event is not improbable, but, it is believed, is wholly unsupported by any collateral testimony, being only mentioned in the *British Chronicles*. As it is positively asserted, and there is no reason for disbelieving it, we have only to suppose that he took part, for a short time, in some of the civil wars in that island, and went over, with a considerable force, for a brief expedition, and returned after achieving some successes. We may place this expedition in the year of his conference with Gildas, 534.

In respect to his expedition to the North Seas, and conquering Denmark and Norway (*i. e.* parts of them), mentioned by Tysilio in his *Chronicle*, it happens that we have positive and very satisfactory collateral evidence that he did interfere in the wars in those parts. The archbishop, Johannes Magnus, historian of Sweden, who lived in the beginning of the sixteenth century, and who was brother and predecessor of Olaus Magnus, being both archbishops of Upsal, gives us some information very relative to the point. He acquaints us that Harold, a leader of the Danes in those days, being overcome in battle by Tordo, king of Sweden, fled to Britain to King Arthur. He further tells us that Arthur, joining his forces with the said Harold, and fitting out a fleet from Britain, Gaul, and Holland, subdued the Danes, then fighting for the Swedes, in a naval battle in the Cattegat. Johannes Magnus appears to affirm positively that Arthur conquered Denmark.

The testimony, we may observe, is all favourable as far as it goes. The hiring of ships in Gaul and Holland, we may admit, may have been necessary to transport a large expedition from Britain to those northern quarters. The victory in the Cattegat is no impossibility; and the alleged conquering of Denmark and Norway amounts to no more than that the restored king, and his friend the British chief, were received as conquerors wherever they landed in his dominions.

There is so different an air given to the story as in Johannes Magnus, that it seems pretty clear he did not copy from the *British Chronicles*; and his account removes much of the improbability which hangs over the narrative as in these latter sources. We assign the expedition to the year 536.

The departure from Britain on the Gaulish expedition seems best placed, as we have before observed, in the year 537. He was there actively employed for some considerable time; when, as Tysilio informs us, he returned again to Britain, and, as we may judge, in the year 539. His stay in Britain appears to have been brief; but it was signalized, if the accounts may be believed, by scenes of splendour of a very dazzling description.

They are related by Tysilio as taking place at Caerleon upon Uske, and were comprised in a national festival of

three days, to which all Britain, north and south, seems to have been invited, and many persons of note from foreign countries, but more especially from Gaul, whence he had so lately returned. The festival was to celebrate his return, but, no doubt, had a political object, and appears to have been the *chef d'œuvre* of all the feasts given by this monarch, who is supposed to have had a particular talent that way. It may be viewed as a kind of Election treat, on a large scale, to the whole of Britain, to secure their votes and interest in his favour. There was, indeed, some need of his thus canvassing them, having been absent from his kingdom for two years, for objects by no means of obvious utility; and intending a second immediate departure, he thus endeavoured to leave his kingdom with greater confidence.

The description of this national festival, as in Tysilio, is well worthy attention; and, as Mr. Roberts observes, is drawn up with that minuteness and attention to minor incidents which show that the compiler had seen an account which had been written by an eye-witness. The Gwenhwyvar, or queen, accompanied by some of the consorts of the minor insular kings, takes a part in the festival; and ceremonials, during these rejoicings, are observed at both the churches of Caerleon, so that the spectators were sometimes attracted to one sacred edifice, and sometimes to the other. A somewhat lengthened description and detail are added; but perhaps the most graphic incident on this occasion is that noted of Bedwer and Cai, who had been elevated to baronies in Gaul, and now exercised, for the last time, their offices about the king's person, as controllers of the entertainments: the one arranging the department of the viands, with an immense retinue; the other, equally well attended, that of the beverages. These two faithful retainers, however, who, in *Trial* 69 are called "Coronetted Knights of battle", from the said baronies with which they had been invested, were soon to give a more mournful testimonial of their attachment to their master, when he repaired a second time to the scene of hostilities.

These rejoicings ended, he appears to have been quickly on his way to the Continent; and, arrived in Gaul, he became totally immersed in the political schemes and military arrangements of the Frankish monarch Childebert

the First. He appears to have served him with the fidelity of the most devoted adherent, though with a great sacrifice of his brave troops. However, his attention was, in the result, painfully withdrawn to things nearer home; for he was suddenly recalled in the spring of 541, according to British accounts, by the breaking out of Medrawd's insurrection, and the renewal of the Saxon war. He was at the time just setting out with the Franks on their expedition to invade Italy: an event placed by chronologists three years earlier, in 538,—a difference, which, considering the imperfect state of the history of those times, is not surprising. Indeed, even the overthrow of the Roman empire by Odoacer, is variously placed in the year 476 or 479. But to continue. He had lost, in the preceding season, in one of the furious battles which occurred in that country, his two ancient friends and companions, Bedwer and Cai, and, indeed, the flower of his army; but still was intent on further expeditions when the urgent recal arrived.

We shall make the subsequent contest with Medrawd a separate topic in Part III. of this chapter: in the mean time we shall merely mention that he was very severely wounded in the battle of Camlan, about the close of the year 541, and died in the beginning of 542.

Such is the nearest approach we can make to the chronology of the reign of this prince. It will be observed that we place the battle of Llongborth nowhere among the details, because it would seem that it is not an event which has any connexion with this British chief, though many have supposed so. We will, therefore, to dispose of this question, enter upon some remarks on the subject.

The battle of Llongborth, that is, of Portsmouth or the vicinity, took place, according to some, just previous to the year 530. We find it mentioned by Llowarch Hên in his *Elegy* on Geraint ap Erbyn, slain on the occasion; but, on the other hand, there seems no reason to suppose that the said event occurred at that date, but rather in the year 501, in the reign of Ambrosius; for the same battle is mentioned, according to all appearance, in the *Saxon Chronicle*, and there has the date, duly assigned, of 501. Besides the said conflict is not enumerated by Nennius, Henry of Huntingdon, or Tysilio, as one of his twelve battles; nor can we discern any corresponding circum-

stances. However, we must here digress for a moment. Mr. Moses Williams, an eminent Welsh scholar of the last century, asserts (see his edition of Humphrey Lhuyd's *Commentariolum*, 4to., 1731, p. 115), that, the Briton Yarthur, mentioned as commanding at the battle of Llongborth by Llowarch Hên, is not to be understood as Arthur the renowned British king, but as some other Briton, bearing the name of Iarddur; which, were it so, would the better agree with chronology, and would correct the mistake sometimes entertained on this point, there being only one battle of Llongborth mentioned by annalists, which occurred in the year 501, according to the *Saxon Chronicle*.

We should, perhaps, make a passing remark on the designation come down to us of Port, the Saxon leader in the battle. The name of the locality having been "Portus Magnus", as we find from Ptolemy, it seems rather apparent that, having acquired this district by right of arms, he received some titular appellation from it; as we find, about thirty years afterward, Wihtgar did from the Isle of Wight: the name "Wihtgar" signifying defender of that island. We may understand, therefore, that his honorary distinction might have been somewhat of this class: *i.e.*, Port-tog, or "Port-chief"; or again, Port-sieger, that is, "Port-conqueror," or the like: which not being comprehended in the Middle Ages, only the first part of the name has reached us.

Having thus discussed, in a general way, various chronological points, we may the better turn our attention to some miscellaneous particulars concerning this ancient chief. Various of them will further meet objections, and support the truth, of his history. At the same time it will be as well to say that the details, as collected in the ensuing part of the present chapter, will be somewhat desultory, as it has been thought best to insert in one place, together, such materials as have come to hand of this nature. Afterwards, the expeditions to Gaul, and the war of Camlan, both of which topics it has been thought better to defer to a subsequent chapter, will come on in due course.

CHAPTER III.

SIXTH CENTURY HISTORY.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF ARTHUR MABUTER, KING OF THE BRITONS.

PART II.

VARIOUS MISCELLANEOUS PARTICULARS CONNECTED WITH THIS ANCIENT BRITISH PRINCE.

WE have before had occasion to speak of the defective state of the accounts which have come down to us of Arthur Mabuter, notwithstanding there is reason to suppose that his services were so remarkable for his country. The point is one of some importance to our present subject, and we may be doing good service to illustrate it a little further, which we may do by referring to some collateral matters.

We shall then observe, to say nothing of the miscarriage of the well-meant attempt of Gildas to perpetuate the memory of his achievements, that there were peculiarities in his position which tended to prevent his name from having any great currency in the literature of his times. For if the archives of Dumnonia, to which section of the island he belonged, have perished, so he could have scarcely expected much commemoration in Cambria, since in regard to Taliesin and Lowarch-Hên, the two great literati of the day, the first appears to have been in the service of Maelgwyn Gwynedd, or in that of his son, or to have dwelt in his territories; and between this person and Arthur there are evidences of an outstanding feud: while the second, Lowarch-Hên is recorded, in *Triad* 112, to have been likewise himself at variance with Arthur. This would have its effect in precluding him from being the

subject of their epics. We should say the bards were naturally timid in risking the loss of their emoluments, at the court of a monarch who protected them; while, on the other hand, we can find no evidence that Arthur favoured this order, which might be another reason for their being disinclined, at that day, to celebrate his praises: though their successors, in later periods of the Middle Ages, were fond of mystifying on the topic of his history and prowess.

Maelgwyn Gwynedd influenced nearly all of South Britain which was at that time clear of the Saxons, Dumnonia excepted. Besides, if it were not so, there is no great evidence of Arthur's popularity in Britain, out of Dumnonia. The great stand made against him by Medrawd, in so bad a cause, seems to imply that he had not that hold on the affections of the Britons of this quarter that might have been expected; and we may observe, he is somewhat lightly spoken of by Caradoc of Lancarvan, in his *Life of Gildas*.

All these circumstances, together with the loss of the services of Gildas, to which we have before alluded, must have operated as a check to adequate accounts of this great commander and patriot having reached us. The injuries of time have done the rest; and whatever sources were within the reach of Tysilio when he wrote his *Chronicle*, and whatever were the contents of the history relating to our hero from which the *Triads* were formed, they have certainly not come down to us.

Thus it fared with Arthur; and we can find a very parallel case in another eminent British leader, whose doings seem to have been very great for his country. This was Urien Rheged, king of the Gadeni, whose career altogether seems to have been very splendid. We have given a few particulars relating to him in our previous page 31. According to Tysilio, he attended Arthur in his last expedition to Gaul, and took a part in the campaign of Camlan. Afterwards, as we have seen, he made an extraordinary resistance against Ida and Hussa, at the battle of Argoed Llwyfain, and subsequently even carried the war into the kingdom of Northumberland. Now we only accidentally know of these things from the *Genealogies* of Nennius, which we have examined in our second

chapter, and which, it so happens, have some historical notes added to them. Taliesin likewise has celebrated the battle of Argoed Llwyfain, in a very brief but animated poem. Thus, from these two somewhat casual circumstances, the name and actions of Urien Rheged have descended to us. The account of him undoubtedly becomes more definite, to a certain degree, from his adversary, Ida the Flame-bearer, being precisely known; whereas Cheldric, who is said to have been Arthur's chief opponent in the major part of his battles in the north of England, is unmentioned in history. He was not the same as Cerdic, the famous Saxon king of the South; the import of the two names being entirely different, the first implying "King's son," the second, "Leader of the expedition."

Did we know more details connected with this prince, the wonder would probably cease, in many instances, at the variety and extent of his successes. One source of his success we know, and we may here more particularly allude to it; namely, the advantages he evidently obtained through his alliances with the Caledonian Britons. A few words, indeed, on this topic may be well bestowed. Of the origin of the Caledonian Britons we have scarce any information. What we chiefly know of them is merely negative: that they were not Picts. Our idea of the inhabitants of Caledonia at this period being, in fact, that they were divided into Scots and Picts; and though we partially ascertain that the origin of the latter was from Ireland, yet the early history of the former is altogether hidden from our view. Gradually they become mentioned, from about the time of Carausius to the period of the fourth century, when Cunedda migrated from Caledonia to Wales. After that, we hear of them in the reigns of Aurelius Ambrosius, Uther Pendragon, and Arthur; again, in the times of St. Kentigern, in the sixth century, when the Caledonian Cambria extended from sea to sea (see the *Life of St. Kentigern*); soon after which, the inroads of Ida, king of Northumberland, the Flame-bearer, and the battle of Gododin, in its disastrous results, deprived them of the eastern portion of their territories, and confined them to the more limited district of Strathclyde and some other states in that quarter. This formed an epoch in their annals; and subsequently they retained their

western territories for several centuries. Now, when the line of Asclepiodotus—that is, the British Constantine family of Dumnonia—became sovereigns paramount of Britain, it might have been thought that their connexion would have been the less intimate with these remote Britons; but the reverse proved to be the case, for they seem both to have renewed former leagues, and to have made fresh ones. We may add what is known of these alliances as in the *Scotichronicon* of John de Fordun.

He positively pronounces that the league begun in the time of Carausius, and continued in the reign of Conan (in the beginning of the fifth century), was renewed and confirmed by Aurelius Ambrosius, and further continued down since his time. Aurelius Ambrosius, we find, made great use of this alliance in his wars with Ochta and Ebissa, son and nephew of Hengist; and Uther Pendragon also seems gladly to have availed himself of this additional strength. As well as this, matrimonial alliances seem to have been formed by the whole family of Ambrosius with the Strathclyde Britons. His two sisters, Anna and Ada, both married princes of this race; and his brother, Uther, united himself to the daughter of Amlaud the Great, the king in these regions. Arthur, on becoming king of the Britons, we find, immediately repaired to this quarter; and Strathclyde then being entire, having its dominions from sea to sea, and unharassed by the Saxons, was able to afford aid of the most important description. Arthur thus had a powerful nation his allies; and the Saxons making expeditions in the North of England, he became a conqueror, like Ambrosius, in those parts, and apparently from the same reason, by possessing this most efficient aid. Now this was a contingency which did not long continue; for the Saxons becoming, in process of time, powerful in Northumberland and the adjoining localities, wrested from the Northern Britons much of their territories, and reduced their means. Besides, the Britons soon afterwards became too closely pressed by the Saxons in the South, to be able to interfere in the affairs of the North. We thus take away somewhat of the marvellous and improbable from the exploits attributed to Arthur, and obtain some insight into the true state of the combinations and politics of the island of that period.

We have only, as above, merely spoken of treaties and alliances with Caledonia; but we may be thought possibly not to have enlarged enough, in many persons' opinions, as to the influence possessed by our British prince in that quarter. They would, perhaps, prefer to have it said, that his pendragonship, or paramount kingship, which was acknowledged in South Britain, was acknowledged also in that country. This we are fully inclined to admit; and the affair of Howel may be taken in corroboration, in the same way that an exception is popularly alleged to prove a rule. We find it asserted in our English history, that when Edward the First was meditating how he should obtain the sovereignty in Caledonia, he caused the monasteries to be searched for chronicles and histories, to ascertain what predominant power South Britain had at any time held in these Northern quarters. (See Walsingham's *History*, p. 55.) We may conjecture the fruit of these researches; for we are informed that this same monarch, in a letter written by him to Rome, to the Pope, asserted his sovereignty over Scotland as arising and resulting from the "conquest" of Arthur. That is, from his having acquired it; for the word conquest anciently meant acquisition solely, and was not restricted to its present only sense, of obtaining by force of arms.

Some have pronounced it a flagrant and scandalous act of Edward, that he did anything of the kind, as if it could have only been affirmed by the grossest deception, that any such evidence could be found. Mistakes, however, should be rectified wherever they are met with; so here we should specify that Edward's searchers certainly could not find that Arthur had ever possessed the kingdom of Scotland in the same way as our James the First; but they might, and we conclude did find, that he had been the generalissimo and pendragon of the Caledonian Britons; which dignity, in those days, was considered to convey regal rights.

We, perhaps, may be justified in introducing the remark here, that we may find traces of much consistency and probability in the story of Arthur in the following incidental coincidences which we may note.

This leader having commenced with the profession of arms so early, and having followed it without intermission

all the first part of his career, must have been a mere soldier in his habits, and nothing more. The accounts accordingly represent him neither as a legislator nor a politician, nor a founder of cities, but describe his talents as consisting in being a great commander in the field, in leading his forces on to victory. His influence also—another special requisite for a Celtic chief—is extolled as being very great in inducing the Britons to leave their homes, and assemble round him for the war. They make him munificent in disposition; and his intervals of leisure and peace are represented as chiefly spent in regal state or in change of scene, till, tired of a long cessation from arms, he once more seeks wars and adventures abroad. This is again very consistent with the habits of a mere *homme de guerre*. Further, the feuds themselves in which he was engaged: as that with Howel, and the notable one with Medrawd, are natural enough in the recital, and to be expected in the times of war and commotion in which he lived. In short, whether the accounts be true or not, there is certainly, to use a technical term, a great deal of keeping in the picture which the various accounts of him exhibit; and the whole mass of them, without exception, those of Tysilio, Geoffrey, Caradoc, Nennius, and of the *Triads*, are to be received as giving many true points of his history, though mixed with much falsehood; but that falsehood we are frequently able to separate, and so prevent its misleading us.

We have entered a little more boldly and decidedly into the subject of this ancient British king, believing that a very great mistake has been made, from Milton downwards, on the part of some even most eminent men, in discrediting the more moderate history of his exploits, and even disallowing that he ever existed. We strongly surmise that this has been done, in every instance, from his name being made so much the subject of romance, which, as we have had indeed full cause to see, has so much mixed itself with every account of him.

This ancient commander, however, is to be considered in his capacity as a king as well as in that of a warrior. We will accordingly attend to what is said of him as a ruler and as a man.

It is difficult to form a correct opinion of him in his

exercise of the kingly power. He is rated high in this respect in the *Chronicles*, and higher still by some romance writers and others in the Middle Ages, who appear to speak of him as a perfect pattern, and as a personification of the highest ideal excellence of this kind to which a sovereign can attain. On the contrary, the writer of the *Life of Gildas*, attributed to Caradoc of Lancarvan, calls him a "rex iniquus", or unjust king, and a "tyrannus" or tyrant, charging him with being the oppressor and slayer of Howel, the excellent and magnanimous youth, as he is there called, though he was above forty years of age at the time alluded to. The writer of the *Life of St. Cadoc*, to which we have before adverted, which, with those of several others of the British saints, may be found in the Cottonian Manuscript in the British Museum, VESPASIAN, A. 14, likewise speaks disparagingly of him, and, in particular, ascribes to him a great perverseness of disposition in a certain specified instance,—to which we shall again refer in a subsequent page,—when, being in a measure constrained by the influence of the saint to accept a fine of a hundred cows for the slaughter of his three knights, according to the tenor of the laws of Cambria, he demands them with such peculiarities of colour as would effectually prevent their being supplied in Wales, or, indeed, any where else: his requisition being, that the forequarters of the whole number should be entirely red, and their hindquarters entirely white. The saint, however, orders the cattle, such as had been provided, to be brought up to where the party were assembled, and their colours were transformed, by his prayers, into those that were desired; and then, being driven through the ford of a river, they were delivered over into the hands of those who stood there, on the opposite side, ready to receive them, namely, to Cai, Bedwer, and their men. But lo! to punish the obstinacy of the British king, the cows are all changed into bundles of fern as soon as they came into their possession.

In the *Life of St. Padarn*, in the same volume, he is styled a tyrant again, and described as endeavouring to deprive the saint, by force, of his gold-embroidered tunic, which he had received at his ordination at Jerusalem; from which he is solely prevented by a miracle. It is true these are only legends; but they show that, at the time they

were indited, no overwhelming idea of his magnanimity as a prince existed in the minds of the writers.

He is mentioned often in the *Triads*; but still there is a deficiency in those compilations in the way of commendation of him as a ruler, though he is praised as a commander. Likewise, the tenor of the ancient *Ballads* in which he figures is much the same; mixed with satire on the supposed indiscretions of his Gwenhumaras, or imperial consorts.

But it may be asked, What sort of a sway and dominion was that which Arthur possessed as sovereign paramount of the Britons, and with what powers was he furnished? This is a very proper question, and we may briefly advert to the due reply. He was, in fact, merely at the head of the kings of the various independent states of the island for the purposes of national defence. These states, or rather their chiefs, had elected him, one of their number, into that office and command, as is shown in the *History* of Nennius, c. 56. At any rate, such is the theory of his position, and such was originally the nature of his office in the neighbouring kingdom of Gaul about a century before the Christian era, when the Gauls put their leader, Celtillus, to death, for endeavouring to enlarge this species of power. (See Cæsar's *Commentaries*, *Gaulish Wars*, vii., 4.) In the days of Arthur, however, time had, in spite of Celtic jealousy, somewhat augmented the privileges of these rulers; the distinction had become partially hereditary, and the Pendragons had acquired some species of territory; or else how could they have founded towns, as John Rouse considers he had ascertained by his researches? (See his *Chronicle*, pp. 53, 54.) These territories, we may easily comprehend, were partly districts which the Romans had kept in their own hands up to the time of their leaving, and were partly casual acquisitions otherwise. This is all that can be said on this particular subject, which is left extremely undefined by our ancient accounts. Still something in the way of remark has seemed to be required. Arthur, then, had no civil jurisdiction over the island. On the contrary, when the war was over, his occupation was in a measure gone; and he seems to have traversed the island as a species of itinerant till some new enterprise arose. That he was somewhat restless, we might almost

conclude from the passage in the *Life of St. Padarn*, Cottonian MSS., VESPASIAN, A. XIV., which we have before alluded to, wherein it is said, "a certain tyrant walked up and down these regions (South Wales), on all sides, by name Arthur", etc. It may be implied that the other Britons had customary dues to pay to the sovereign paramount, as it is clear enough that they had a body-guard to some considerable number, who would have been chargeable on the country generally. The collection of such revenues, we know, would, on many occasions, have had the tendency to produce feuds, tumults, and dissensions.

Such was the sovereignty paramount of the Britons at this date, which continued for a century and a half afterwards, to the time of Cadwalader the Great, at which period it became blended down to a somewhat different type, and lost many of its distinctive features. On the Continent, the last monarchy of this class was the kingdom of Poland, which was broken up in 1772. The Diet of the German empire is a faint shadow of some similar ancient form, now extinct.

We must not omit the trait, in speaking of this ancient sovereign, that, like Llowarch-Hên, the bard-prince of Argoed, he possessed a taste for poetry. We will not say that he was able to rival that poet in genius; indeed, we know but little of his merits, as we have one only triplet remaining of his composition, of which it can be merely said, that it is forcibly expressed, and in a somewhat flowing strain. It is poetry, at any rate; and as such, is a curious relic of this old king. It occurs in two forms, in the *Myvyrian Archæology*; one apparently more ancient than the other. We give the more modern as most comprehensible, which is found in that work, vol. ii., p. 62; as also it forms part of *Triad* 29.

Sef ynt fy nhri Chadfarchawg,
Mael hir, a Llyr Lluyddaug,
a Cholofn Cymru Caradawg.

That is, in English :

These are my three battle knights;
Mael the Tall, and Llyr the Brilliant Chief,
And Caradog the Pillar of the Cambrians.

In allusion to the subject of these verses, the kings or pendragons of the Britons, we find, as has just been noticed

above, were ever attended by their body-guard; and we may conclude that these three formed part of it, or were three of his generals. We might be inclined to say, that the officers of this body-guard were those persons whom romance has chosen to designate as the Knights of the Round Table; but if the round table be not a fancy of after times, Mr. Roberts supposes, in his edition of Tysilio's *Chronicle*, p. 151, that a circular table might have been used, to avoid all cavils in respect to precedency, among the illustrious visitors who came to his festivals—a sufficient conjecture on this legendary matter.

We may further note, that the specific mention made of the Cambrians, seems to make a distinction between them and the other Celts of the island with whom Arthur was accustomed to act, and implies that the Cambrians only formed part of his forces.

We have referred to the *Triads* before; and viewing them as affording a series of anecdotes, of which he is the subject, they are certainly calculated to give the most authentic idea we can obtain of both the public and private life of the man who, in his appetite for festivals and entertainments, reminds one of Francis the First; in his valour, of Alexander the Great; and who was no doubt the most remarkable character of his age. He is then mentioned in the following *Triads*, referring to them as under by their numbers, viz.—20, 21, 22, 29, 31, 50, 51, 52, 53, 64, 70, 83, 100, 101, 103, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123,—in all, thirty-one; giving numerous particulars, but entirely wanting that connexion which they undoubtedly once had in that now lost history from which they were taken. (See *Britannic Researches*, pp. 290-292.) It should be likewise noted, that his retainers, and various persons connected with him, are mentioned in others of the *Triads*. So that about one third, or nearly that amount, of these ancient fragments, take up the subject of him and his affairs. The history whence the *Triads* were taken was undoubtedly bardic; but bardic of a date when their repugnance to the subject of our present pages may be supposed to have materially abated.

The *History* of Nennius, and the *Chronicle* of Tysilio, especially notify that this British king espoused the cause

of the Christian church of his day, which of course would have injured his popularity with the bards of those times, till some generations had passed. It would rather appear that he came to the throne as king of the Britons, supported, in conformity to his tenets, by the interest of the church. We find it said, in an ancient *Life of St. Dubricius*, as quoted in Leland's *Collectanea*, vol. v., pp. 20-21, "Perempto tandem per venenum Aurelio rege et regnante paucis annis Uthero ejus fratre Arturius filius ejus ope Dubricii successit, qui Saxones audacter pluribus prœliis aggressus est, nec tamen illos funditus a regno extirpare potuit." In English: "Aurelius the king being taken off by poison, and Uther his brother having reigned a few years, Arthur his son succeeded to the throne, by the help of Dubricius, who boldly attacked the Saxons in many battles, but could not entirely extirpate them from the kingdom." In observation on this, we shall find it very probable, from a retrospect of the few materials of British history we possess, that it was so. Constantine of Armoria, and Aurelius Ambrosius, are understood to have come in on the interest of the Romans—for many still remained on the island—and that of the church united; Vortigern, who is believed to have come in on the strictly British interest connected with the Druidical party, had evidently not so much support. In Arthur's days, the Roman interest being nearly worn out, that of the Druids being greatly in the wane, and the Church being much increased in power, this would have formed a stronger motive for an intimate union with it.

The tenor, then, we repeat, of Nennius and Tysilio, induces us to suppose that he was a firm adherent to the Latin or Western Church of his times; and there are some other reasons, as we have suggested, bearing on this point. Mr. Roberts, however, in his *Cambrian Popular Antiquities*, 8vo., 1814, gives a view of this question, much diversified from that which we have adopted. He seems to suggest two positions. First, that Arthur was a votary of Druidism; and secondly,—to which he rather inclines,—that he began by supporting that worship, but in the course of his reign became an adherent of Christianity. His line of argument is extremely ingenious, to say no more of it; but being based entirely on the explanations

of Druidism as given in Davies' *Celtic Researches*, and the *Mythology of the Druids*, by the same writer, it would be rather superfluous to follow him in his chain of reasoning; for it may be a question whether the principles of Mr. Davies be always correct; and again, whether Roberts has always properly applied them. This would lead to discussions which might draw us aside too much from our purpose: to say nothing of the mystical nature of the subject in which we should be involved.

Regarding the romances formed on the fruitful topic of his life and adventures, they may be divided into two classes: 1. The collection of fictions connected with his name, mixed up and blended with what are believed occasionally to be more authentic materials, in the *Chronicles* of Tysilio, Geoffrey of Monmouth, and others; and 2. Various romances, as those of *Lancelot of the Lake*, the *Sangreal*, and the *Mort d'Arthur*, which profess to set forth his story. The most accurate information we have of these last productions appears to be, that they were translated from Latin originals, now not extant, and compiled in their present form by Walter Mapes, a well-known author of the twelfth century. This is distinctly stated in an ancient manuscript, containing several of these romances, formerly in the Library de la Valiere, now in the possession of Seymour Kirkup, Esq., of Florence. (See the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* for 1854, p. 181.) To this we may add, that Helie de Bourron, who lived in the thirteenth century, and completed the kindred romance of *Sir Tristan*, informs us that Walter de Mapes translated the *Mort d'Arthur* from a previous work. (See Wright's *Biographia Britannica Literaria*, ii., 304.) We find that these romances became known to the Italians, in process of time, by multiplied translations; and Dante has a reference to them in his *Paradiso*, xvi., 13, "Onde Beatrice," etc. Shortly after the invention of printing, Sir Thomas Malory published his *Mort d'Arthur*, which issued from the press of Caxton, and was stated in the preface to be taken out of certain French books. In fact, it was compiled from Walter Mapes' romances on the same subject.

We have to remark, in relation to these works of fancy, thus translated by Walter Mapes into Norman-French, from a Latin original, that they have a totally distinct

story of their own. The *Chronicles* have none of the same materials, and never introduce their narrative: this would seem a fair argument of the greater antiquity of the primary *Chronicle*, that of Tysilio, from which the other chronicles are derived. They, it will be recollected, constitute a separate class of accounts of this prince, by themselves; while the others—the romances of the class of the *Mort d'Arthur*—leave far and wide out of the case all features of a true narrative, and merely make his story a basis on which to construct numerous romances and fictions, or, more properly speaking, *extravaganzas*, approximating in their nature to the tales of chivalry in the Middle Ages.

Ancient *Ballads* come in next in order, after the *Chronicles*, *Trials*, *Legends*, and *Romances*, to which we have before alluded. Of these there are two, which take up direct the subject of the renowned British king, entitled, the first the *Death*, the second the *Legend of King Arthur*. They are both preserved in Bishop Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, 12mo., 1767, vol. iii., pp. 28 and 37. The first of them is taken from the *Mort d'Arthur*, the second from Geoffrey of Monmouth. Beside these, there are several which collaterally refer to the subject of his history: as the ballad of *Sir Lancelot du Lake*, i., 198; that of *Sir Gawaine*, iii., 11, which are from the class of mediæval romances to which we have alluded. There are also some others.

It perhaps should be mentioned, that our modern poet, Mr. Tennyson, has entered the field in the same path. His *Morte d'Arthur*, published in his *Poems*, vol. ii., 12mo., 1846, has pretty much the same subject as Percy's ancient ballad, the *Death of Arthur*, above referred to. As might be expected, he has worked up the description with richer imagery, though he has retained some of the homely features of the ballad.

It has before been explained, that the works of imagination formed on the history of this king afford no argument against his real existence. Those who think otherwise, may be referred, as before, to the monstrous fictions related concerning Charlemagne, to be found in various works. Notwithstanding these fictions, Charlemagne was a real person.

We may possibly have succeeded in removing some obscurities of our subject, as far as romances and works of fancy have detrimented the question; but we come now to treat of an objection, as unusual as can well be imagined, in an inquiry of this kind: that there are indubitable traces of his being regarded, at some periods and in some localities, in the light of a divinity. Instances perhaps may be found, where this has been considered as almost the very climax of objections; but it may be as readily accounted for as the rest. We must admit that a widely extended circle of mythological ideas has become connected with him. His name has been inserted among the constellations. He may be found mentioned as a species of war-god in Welsh poetry, and represented ostensibly as a supernatural being, not only in this island, but in several foreign countries. These are things so well known, that it is hardly necessary to adduce instances; and we will proceed at once to a short remark or two on the point.

What then does the above in reality amount to? Not to a species of deification; not to anything approaching the paganism of the ancients. On the contrary, it is only a result of the extending of the fictions of romance; the mere dilating its province; the removing romance to fairy-land. If then, the existence of an historical personage becomes not less real from his being made the subject of romance, it becomes not less real, even if that romance pass its usual limit, and a fairy tale, of which he is the hero, be produced. It is rare, indeed, that romance goes to such a length; but the works of Menage and others may be consulted, to show that mythological tales have been raised on the supposed adventures of Charlemagne; and we have before cited the story of Charlemagne several times, to illustrate that of Arthur. It must be allowed that it comes in with great force in the present instance.

Further: as we have treated, at a previous page, of mystical and cabalistic ideas connected with the personage who forms our present subject, in our answer to the objections of Mr. Herbert, so we should now repeat, that the poetical use of his name, the magical influences ascribed to him, the deifying him or placing him among the constellations, are all things of the same sort, and are

of no moment as to the question of his real existence. Indeed, the bards are far from being always accustomed to speak of early British history in a sober strain. In this case, the reputation of this individual had pervaded not only romance, but the popular mythology of medieval times. We should merely consider his doing so as a result of his great fame and reputation, and not as a proof that there never was such a person. We are, then, far from considering it any objection, that we hear in this or that part of Europe of the constellation of "Arthur's Harp", and elsewhere of "Arthur's Plough", and the like. Sure enough, if the stars in the celestial system were now to be named over again, there would soon be introduced, in this country, the designation of the Wellington Star, and that of Nelson, and so forth. We have already the Herschel Planet. In France they would have the Napoleon Star; in Italy, the Dante Constellation, and the like. Further, as the renown of this chief, mythological and otherwise, was at its height in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the period of the Crusades, it would only seem very natural that it should formerly have been transferred all over the East, as we are informed was the case, and that our English travellers should unexpectedly hear a name they knew so well at home. We can indeed directly account, in some cases, for the transmission of the legendary accounts: for instance, in that of Sicily, where tales are current of him, which have apparently been introduced because the Normans, in the Middle Ages, obtained dominions in that quarter. Hence Richard Cœur-de-Lion is said to have given Tancred, king of Sicily, his sword. (See John Brompton's *Chronicle*, co. 1195.) And why not? In fact, it should not be thought strange that the sword of the British king should have been preserved to those times, as some of the regalia of Charlemagne were used at the coronation of Napoleon the First.

But, in respect to Arthur's name being known in the East, let us mention here an illustration of that circumstance, which we gain from the labours of one of the German literati. Professor F. H. Hagen, of the University of Berlin, published a Greek poem in the year 1824, in his *Denkmale des Mittelalters*, which was entitled "De Rebus gestis Regis Arturi, Tristani, Lanceloti, Galbani, Palamedis,

aliorumque Equitum Tabulæ Rotundæ.” It is a fragment, of three hundred and six lines, of a much more extensive composition; and this heading evidently shows it either to have been taken from Walter Mapes’ romance of the *Mort d’Arthur*, published in 1170, or, what is more probable, from the original romance, now lost, from which Walter de Mapes translated his work. The following are the four first lines of it:

Νέοι παιδίσκαι, σὺν αὐτοῖς μητέρες εὐτεκνοῦσαι,
Καὶ ῥήγες ὑποκείμενοι ῥῆγὶ τῆς Βρετανίας,
Ἐώρων ἐκπληττόμενοι τὸ θάρσος τοῦ πρεσβύτου,
Τὸ κάλλος δ’ ἐπεθαύμαζον τῆς ἐπελθουσης κόρης.

In English: “The youths, maidens, and matrons, and the kings subject to the king of Britain, were struck with the boldness of the old warrior, and surprised at the beauty of the maid who had arrived.”

Professor Hagen pronounces the versification to be the same as was adopted by Michael Psellus in the eleventh century, and by John Tzetze and Constantine Manasses in the twelfth; but the manuscript itself, in which the fragment is contained, is of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, it apparently being a transcription. It is in the Vatican Library at Rome; and Professor Hagen’s work is in the British Museum, reference-mark, 1300, f. 2102.

Among the names of places which have received their appellation from this ancient British king, are, Arthur’s Chair, a mountain crag near Edinburgh; Arthur’s Chair (Cadair Arthur), a mountain in Brecknockshire; Arthur’s Oon, an ancient Roman circular building in Falkirkshire, now removed, supposed to have been a temple; Arthur’s Castle, which are certain foundations near Penrith; and Arthuret, a village in Cumberland; Arthur’s Hall, in Cornwall, etc., etc.

Speaking of the diffusion of his name, we may observe, that we have in this country one corroboration of his history from that source. We have the name given to a hill, Arthur’s Chair, at Edinburgh. That might be; for in his time Strathclyde extended from sea to sea, as we have noted before, and he fought one of his battles at or near Edinburgh. We have numerous places in the western parts of Britain named from him; all which, again, might

be because he was king of the Britons. But we have no local names in Hampshire, Kent, or East Anglia, *i.e.*, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex, which refer to him; which is still more corroborative, as it is well known the Saxons had then domination in those quarters. Thus we have here a species of tacit proof, which should not be considered to be without its weight.

CHAPTER III.

SIXTH CENTURY HISTORY.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF ARTHUR MABUTER, KING OF THE BRITONS.

PART III.

THE EXPEDITIONS TO GAUL, AND THE WAR OF CAMLAN.

FIRST, as to the acts of this leader in Gaul. All the romance accounts of him are, of course, to be abandoned, and we are only to retain the more moderate details connected with him, in his position as king of the Britons, as narrated by Tysilio, Nennius, and Rudborne, checked by the bardic history of the *Triads*; and there are 31 of these out of their whole number, 126, as has been noted, which relate to him.

Dividing then the accounts of him into two classes,—the marvellous and the unmarvellous,—it becomes at once striking, that nearly all the former were connected with his acts out of the kingdom; we mean the highly extravagant exploits, which seem to have been introduced as a species of travellers' wonders, into the narrative; such as his battles with the Romans, and his conquests over them, when the Western empire had been already broken up for sixty years, or nearly so; it having fallen under Romulus Augustulus, in the year 476 or 479, and when the Exarchate of Ravenna was established in its stead; whereas

the expedition of Arthur to Gaul seems best assignable to the year 537. There were, then, no such wars,—that is, none with the Romans,—in the sense the chronicle accounts would imply; though detached portions of the Roman forces in Gaul might have continued a struggle for existence some considerable time after the fall of the Western empire; which indeed we know to have been the case, as Clovis defeated Siagrius, the Roman general, at Soissons, in the year 485.

However, his going to Gaul is not of itself to be considered a fiction, though the distorted account of his actions there be not wholly true, in the precise words in which it is related. He is represented, indeed, as going twice to Gaul; and there is no objection as to the fact of his having transported himself and his army of Britons thither. But what shall we say did occur? Why, the context plainly implies that the British adventurer, together with the Armoricans, took part with the Franks, in certain wars which occurred between them and the Burgundians, in which the former had the advantage. This seems clear, from reading of the accounts: the mention of Paris, the victory of Langres, etc. Frollo, who is described as engaging in single combat with Arthur, may, without difficulty, be supposed a Burgundian chief. Tysilio does not say that he was a Roman; and in one place actually expresses himself that Arthur conquered the Burgundians. (See his *Chronicle*, p. 170.) We have also a further illustration. It appears from history that these, his allies, did in reality invade Italy, in the year 538 (see various *Authorities*); whence is explained the passage in the *Chronicles*, that Arthur was preparing to cross the Alps, when he received the intelligence which obliged him to return to Britain.

We have thus views more within compass of his transactions on the Continent; views which now come within the bounds of credibility. As for the rest, we can easily see that his successes abroad, whether considerable or not, might have become magnified at home into great conquests, and even been represented as the conquest of Gaul itself; for being transacted at a distance, the reciters of his deeds, in the recesses of Dumnonia or among the mountains of Cambria, can hardly be supposed to have

studied correctness. The *Triads* alone show a disposition to keep within sober limits; for *Triad* 100 omits a great part of the extravagances, and assures us that, in the latter part of his transactions in Gaul, he sustained so great a loss in contending with the Romans, or, as we may perhaps better substitute, with the Burgundians, that Medrawd, to whose proceedings we have already paid attention, was induced thereby to usurp the sovereign power at home. The general tenor of the *Triads* is, to omit the marvellous when this sovereign is the topic; where they do not, it is not impossible that they may have been interpolated. The most obvious extravagances of his home exploits are, the numbers which are said to have fallen by his hands.

The warm friendship and alliance which subsisted between the Armoricans and Britons, and especially with the Dumnonian Britons, is now not doubted, and forms a striking feature in ancient Celtic history. There had been before, in the time of Vortimer, about the year 467, as nearly as we can ascertain the date, an expedition under that king, from Britain, of 12,000 men, to assist the Armoricans. This rests on incontrovertible authority, being mentioned by Jornandes, Gregory of Tours, Sidonius Apollinaris, and the *Chronicle of Mount St. Michael*. (See an account of the expedition, in the *Britannic Researches*, p. 56; but the date there given, 457, would seem better altered to the one here adopted.)

The Armoricans, at that period, were in alliance with the Romans, and at war with Euric, king of the Visigoths. The Vortimer in that expedition, named in the accounts "Rhiothimus," believed to be a corruption of *Rix Guortimerus*, has been by some erroneously supposed to have been Arthur. The assumption is, however, very satisfactorily disproved, since the Visigoths were driven out of Gaul entirely by the Franks, in the year 506, eleven years before the commencement of Arthur's reign. Now, the politics in Gaul, in Arthur's time, appear to have undergone this change: the remnant of the Romans in the country still continued their alliance with the Burgundians; but now the Armoricans, who had transferred their attachments in the interim, were arrayed against these last, and had united their interests with the Franks.

The foregoing remarks will explain the state of affairs

in those times, to a certain extent ; however, we may be quite sure, that the idea is but natural to be entertained by the majority of our readers, that ancient Gaul was similar, in the unity of its government as a monarchy, to modern France, considering, as many do, the one but as it were the reflection of the other, though with so many centuries between. This, we must observe, is a most erroneous conception of the real case ; and as our present topic cannot be rightly comprehended otherwise, it will be necessary briefly to set forth the various kingdoms established in that country in the fifth and sixth centuries, and to subjoin concisely some general chronological extracts, which will illustrate sufficiently both the expedition of the British Vortimer to Gaul, in the year 467, and that of the British Arthur in 537, and the four following years.

GOthic KINGDOMS FORMED IN GAUL IN THE FIFTH AND SIXTH CENTURIES.

i. *Kingdom of the Vandals.* They settle in Gaul in the year 406 ; in Spain, 409 ; in Africa in 427 ; and capture Rome, under Genseric, in 455, by an expedition of great magnitude they fitted out from Africa.

ii. *Kingdom of the Alani.* They settle in Gaul in 407 ; near the Rhine in 412 ; and the territory of Valence is ceded to them by Ætius, Roman general, and commander-in-chief for Valentinian in Gaul, in 440.

iii. *Kingdom of the Burgundians.* They enter Gaul in 407, and have part of Gallia Belgica ceded to them in 412, by the emperor Honorius.

iv. *Kingdom of the Franks.* They enter Gaul in 407, and Pharamond establishes them in that country in 416 and 417 ; and they still possess France.

v. *Kingdom of the Visigoths.* They become masters of Italy in 410, under Alaric ; march to Gaul in 412 ; occupy a part of Spain in 455 ; leave Gaul in 506 ; and become lords of Spain in 585.

It is easy to see what complications this struggling for power must have occasioned in Gaul ; and it is easy to see, likewise, why the Armoricans should have been anxious to throw in their own weight, as they adopted this or that interest : at one time summoning Vortimer, with

his 12,000 Britons, in the vain attempt to uphold the falling power of Rome in those parts; at another time, sending for Arthur and his forces, to elevate still higher the rising power of the Franks; in which, indeed, they fully succeeded.

CHRONOLOGY OF SOME EVENTS IN GAUL AND ITALY
IN THE FIFTH AND SIXTH CENTURIES.

456. Meroveus, king of the Franks, dies, and is succeeded by Childeric I., his son, the same year.

466-474. Euric becomes king of the Visigoths; and in the course of the said interval, was at first defeated by the Romans, but afterwards succeeds in surprising and entirely overthrowing Vortimer and his Britons, who has difficulty in escaping with part of his forces. Subsequently he takes Massilia, and partially expels the Romans from Gaul.

466. Chilperic I. is king of the Burgundians. This was apparently the person whom Vortimer went to assist.

467. Anthemius made Western emperor.

476 or 479. The Western empire is put an end to by Odoacer: who establishes the kingdom of the Heruli-Turingi in Italy instead.

481. Childeric I. dies, and is succeeded by Clovis, the same year, as king of the Franks.

485. Clovis defeats Siagrius, the Roman general.

493. The Ostrogoths overturn the kingdom of the Heruli-Turingi.

496. Clovis embraces Christianity.

510. Clovis makes Lutetiæ (Paris) his capital.

511. Clovis dies, and Childebert I. succeeds, the same year, as king of the Franks. One of the principal events of his reign was his defeating, in conjunction with his brothers, Clothaire and Clodomir, Sigismund, king of the Burgundians. Another was, his making an expedition against Spain, with his brother Clothaire, which was unsuccessful.

538. The Franks invade Italy.

553. Justinian subverts the kingdom of the Ostrogoths.

558. Childebert I. dies.

As for the narrative of his foreign wars, impregnated as his story is, in other places, with fiction, yet it seems, in

this part, unfortunately dosed three or four times over with romance ; nevertheless, in the midst of the mass of absurdities collected together, somewhat more than a faint reflection of the true story seems evidently discernible, and of that we must avail ourselves.

The account, then, places his warlike proceedings in Gaul under the head of two expeditions, each of which appear to have lasted about a couple of years : and in both, he appears to have been a partisan in the Franco-Burgundian war, on the side, as we have said, of Childebert the First. In the prior campaign, the Frankish cause seems to have been somewhat at a discount, as Paris itself, the Frankish capital, is represented in the hands of the Burgundians ; and a great battle was necessary to be fought, in order to enable Childebert's party to make head against their opponents. This campaign, however, evidently made a change ; and Arthur now retires to Britain for some months ; when, after the great festival, he returns again to the scene of hostilities. We may conclude he had augmented his army from his own country : but now, from the altered complexion of affairs, a much severer contest awaited him ; and, one fierce and long-contested conflict taking place after another, his forces rapidly diminish, and many of his experienced commanders and old companions in war are cut off. Three battles are enumerated ; and the last, which takes place near Langres, in which Bedwer and Cai fall, is represented as most sanguinary, and as giving especial hopes to the discontented in Britain that, from his sustaining such great losses, his return thither might be successfully prevented. (See *Triad* 100.) The winter arrives after this—the winter of 540-41—and he appears, according to the accounts, to have been in cantonments, repairing his losses and preparing for the next campaign ; indeed, almost about to move forward with his allies, the Franks, on an expedition to Italy, when messengers reached him from Britain, which altered the whole complexion of affairs, and caused him to return to that country with his forces with all possible despatch.

The last scenes of his career as a king and commander had now commenced. There was a rebellion at home, which we must proceed to touch upon, as far as materials for our doing so are supplied.

He had left his cousin Medrawd, who, by his father's side, was of Caledonian blood, his regent in Britain and his representative in the pendragonship. He had left him in charge of his queen, and as his viceroy in Dumnonia, with a commander of the forces under him for that province. (See *Triads* 20, 22.) In short, he had put everything in his power: and Medrawd was the more dangerous enemy, as he was an exceedingly skilful general, and a person, it seems, who was very popular. (*Triad* 118.) He was the son of one of the most powerful Strathclyde kings: and Arthur, in the excess of his attachment in the days of their mutual confidence, appears to have given him a principality even in Dumnonia itself. (*Triad* 52.) So dexterous was he, that he gained over the commander of the forces Arthur had left in Dumnonia before he declared himself.

It is remarkable that one of the old chronicles varies the account otherwise come down to us, and informs us that this person affected the crown of Dumnonia, alleging Arthur's illegitimacy, whereas the usual sources of this class would imply, that he competed for the crown or pendragonship of Britain itself. There is great reason to suppose that the varying statement alluded to is right; for if the circumstance be reflected upon, it will soon be obvious that there is no instance in ancient British history of a person being pendragon, who was not also one of the kings of the island; and his own father was still alive, so that he could not claim it, on the score of northern territories. This view of the subject will certainly make his treason appear more base; namely, that he even sought to deprive his benefactor of his paternal territories.

Medrawd's manners are described in *Triad* 118, which we have before cited as mild, soft, and insinuating, notwithstanding his martial prowess in the field was great: and his success in gaining over the commander of the forces in Dumnonia—called, in *Triads* 20, 22, Iddaug Corn Prydain, that is, Y Tagos Corn Prydain, or the Tagos of Cornwall or Dumnonia—warrants the supposition he was successful in other instances; and thus had, together with Arthur's faithless Gwanhumara, or queen, some considerable party in Dumnonia itself.

Moreover, he had the advantage of being in the field

first, and had a numerous array to oppose his former liege lord when he should arrive. This, it seems from the narrative, was not immediately; for Arthur collected a large army, in addition to his now reduced forces of veterans, before he embarked from Armorica for Southampton, which the accounts imply he did not do with less than fifty or sixty thousand men, among whom Northmen are mentioned. Medrawd appears to have had about seventy or eighty thousand. He had been particularly active in obtaining reinforcements from all quarters—Picts, Irish, Britons, Scots, and Saxons: and of these last, eight thousand are said to have joined him from Germany, under their leader, Cheldric, apparently the same person as his former opponent.

Being arrived at Southampton with his armament, by which apparently is meant Clausentum, or Bittern, our leader's good fortune seems to have deserted him; for he had neglected, or was not able to secure a place where he could land without molestation; but, approaching the shore, disembarked immediately part of his forces, who moved somewhat forward to allow the requisite space for the others to land, as we find by comparing accounts. On this being done, they were attacked so furiously by Medrawd, who was ready at hand with his army, that the great commander incurred the most imminent risk of being defeated at the first outset; which was only averted, when the remainder of his army got on shore, by his sustaining a loss which evidently much crippled his after proceedings. There was not only on this occasion a frightful slaughter of his best troops, but two of his ablest generals fell—Gwalchmai (his nephew) and Araun, whose place was supplied by Urien Rheged, so famed afterwards in Strathclyde, then prince only. The victory, notwithstanding, remained with Arthur; and Medrawd retreated to Winchester, where he drew up his forces; but was engaged again and routed, and retreated with precipitation to the Dumnonian kingdom. Tysilio narrates these affairs apparently in good faith; and there is a somewhat broken account in the *Triads*, which refers more especially to the subsequent proceedings. A few other particulars also will appear in our account of Medrawd at a subsequent page. Suffice it, then, to say that the rival chiefs collected their

troops finally for a decisive battle on the river Camlan, in Cornwall, where, accordingly, the conflict took place; and the event of it was, that the Saxons were routed, the insurgent chief killed, and Arthur was carried away mortally wounded. This ended the contest for the time; but the duration of it is certainly very differently described, being, according to *Matthew of Westminster*, two years; while, according to *Tysilio* and *Geoffrey of Monmouth*, it does not appear to have continued as many weeks; and on this we may offer a short remark.

As far as casual observation goes, it might be thought that the campaign of Camlan, including the collecting the forces in Armorica, occupied three-quarters of one year, beginning in the spring and ending late in the winter. We are apparently tied down to two dates—the year 538, when the Franks were on their march to invade Italy, when Arthur received the news of the revolt and returned with his troops to Britain; and 542, when he died: and it is evident we must emancipate ourselves from one of them, and so must either put the expedition of the Franks in 541, or the death of Arthur in 539. On the whole, as it is possible that the former event may have been misdated, we have not altered the year usually assigned to his death.

The account in the *Triads* to which we have alluded, describes these events in a line of narrative of their own: though, as we have intimated, with an absence of connecting details, which we cannot supply from any other quarter, except that we obtain some of the earlier transactions of the campaign—the landing, etc., from *Tysilio*. We will, however, endeavour to give the general tenor of their account of the whole affair from the beginning, from *Triads* 20, 21, 22, 45, 49, 50, 51, 52, 100, and 118, which we must premise are not numbered according to the order of events.

According to these various accounts, it would appear that Arthur had left Medrawd as his viceroy in Britain during his absence, to be his deputy as pendragon of the Britons (*Triad* 21 *et alibi*), and to reside and take superintendence of his court at Galliwig, or Celliwig, as it is otherwise called, which would appear to have been the then metropolis of Dumnonia; his “Gwanhumara”, or queen, being also committed to his care. We know this

partially as well from other sources. From *Triad* 49, we learn that the first cause of dissatisfaction arose from a dispute and contest between Gwenhwyvach—whose name is titular, implying, “high lady”, *i.e.*, the viceroy’s wife—and Gwenhwyvar (Gwanhumara), Arthur’s consort, which is confirmed in *Triad* 50, which speaks of the war as having arisen from a ridiculous cause. Medrawd is described in *Triad* 118 as the very pink of urbanity and politeness: however, his conduct is represented in *Triad* 52 as coarse and brutal to his royal charge; and afterwards, he commits himself by his misdoings beyond the hope of forgiveness from his master. *Triads* 20, 22, and 100, inform us how this feeling worked itself out: how that Medrawd, hearing that Arthur had lost the flower of his troops in Gaul, supposed that a favourable opportunity had arisen to become independent, and gained over Arthur’s military commandant in Dumnonia, who is called Iddaug Corn Prydain: that is, as we have before explained, Y Tog Cernewac, or the Tagos, or commander in Cornwall.

Indeed, Arthur’s conduct afforded him a rather strong case: and he, doubtless, represented him as having become unmindful of British interests, as lavish of the blood of his countrymen, as being chiefly mindful of foreigners and their affairs, and as establishing his most confidential adherents—that is, Bedwer and Cai—in honours and estates among them. All this he could have said with truth, and probably much more; as the dereliction of Britain seems somewhat obvious. He might even have justified an alliance with the Saxons, as peace had been made with them, and they had been recognized, by treaty in Britain, as subjects of Arthur. However, a meeting was arranged, and took place at a spot called Nanhwynain, in Dumnonia, where they each came, attended with their men, and where they fully matured their designs. They took into possession all Arthur’s goods and effects in Britain, together with his queen and palace at Galliwig, or Celliwig, and determined to keep him out of the kingdom by force. This we find in the said three *Triads* which treat specially on these points. They then pass on to the final result—the disastrous battle of Camlan, which they give without the intermediate events. (See *Triads* 50 and

51.) They supply a few incidental details to elucidate the catastrophe, as some passing reference to the prodigious slaughter which took place, and the noting Arthur's great fault in allowing his men to become separated while engaged in the battle, to which they attribute his being killed. They also tell us of Alan Vorgan, or Morgan, a British chief, and possibly, from his name, a Silurian, who, having raised his tribe and coming to Arthur's assistance, was deserted by them on his march, and fell with some immediate adherents at Camlan. (*Triad* 81.) As the *Triads*, in their present broken and disconnected state, give so much information, we may be justified in supposing that the account in the original history, from which they are formed, must have been very complete.

We have seen before, the circumstances of Medrawd's case; that he was a person necessarily made desperate by the position in which, through his crime, he had placed himself. He was endeavouring to deprive Arthur Mabuiter, in addition to his other injuries, of his paternal kingdom; but in his conference with Iddaug Corn Prydain, he possibly might have kept this somewhat in the background, and have chiefly dwelt on his struggle, like that of Howel being for the pendragonship. It must be remembered that Arthur, though a king, was only an elective one; and was viewed in that light by his countrymen. In their eyes, he would merely be a species of representative of themselves, whom their wishes, as expressed by their votes and suffrages, had chosen, and whom their wishes might remove. The time had not then arrived when the kingly power was necessarily either perpetual or hereditary; as is shown in the case of Vortigern, and the instances of the offspring of Aurelius Ambrosius (*Gildas*, c. 25), and Beli ap Rhun. Nennius in his history describes Arthur as "Dux Bellorum", or generalissimo in the wars, and no more: while Alanus de Insulis (Alain de l'Isle), a medieval writer, who died in 1181, styles him merely "Pendragon", conveying a collateral idea. Alanus de Insulis wrote a Treatise on the Prophecies of Merlin, which was printed at Frankfort, in 8vo., in 1608.

It is, perhaps, not very difficult to assign the exact locality on the river Camlan where this battle was fought. It evidently occurred somewhere near the sea; and this

stream takes a course of about thirty miles before it falls into the Bristol Channel. If it took place near Camelford, the spot would have been about four miles from the sea overland; but if fought on the lower part of the river, there would have been direct water communication; and in this quarter we are inclined to assign the contest. We would preferably place it on the north bank of the Camlan (Camel), about a mile and a half east of Ward Bridge, where a small stream, coming from the north-east, makes nearly a right angle with the Camlan; and here, there is but little doubt, the insurgent army was drawn up; its right resting on the Camlan, where is now the village of Eglos-hayle, and its left, at the distance of another mile and a half, placed in the ancient British camp, now called Kelly Rounds; and the reserves in the valleys, or on the hills in the rear. This would exactly agree with the Scotch accounts, that Medrawd had part of his force covered by a marsh, which the lesser stream seems to have formed before a portion of his front; whereas there are no traces of flats or marshes in the uppermost parts of the river. One of the names, near the principal passages of the little stream and on the place of supposed conflict, seems significant enough, the same being "Lamail", or, as we may translate it, "Sword Farm". There would have been an object in this position, in covering an important communication with the sea.

We may now return to our narrative. The British king, who had for so many years courted all dangers and all risks, and had exposed others to them with so much unconcern, now became himself a victim to the calamities of war; and, being most grievously wounded by a blow with a sword, which, according to the traditions preserved among the monks at Glastonbury, had fractured the left side of the skull, nearly severed the ear, and had besides inflicted a serious wound on the neck, he was borne off from the field of battle. The place to which he was conveyed, doubtless by his own desire, was nearly eighty miles off, in a straight line, and indeed very much further, according to the circuitous route which was adopted. The place was the Isle of Avallon, afterwards Glastonbury, and the inducement is described to have been that there was here, at that time, a charitable institution under the

superintendence of a lady of rank, named Morgen, or Morgana, who was a near relation of the wounded king, and had a great reputation for her skill in surgery. There appears to be a very credible account of his removal there in the *Vita Merlini* of Geoffrey of Monmouth, or the Life of Merddyn Wyllt, the Caledonian. It is in the manuscript *Vespasian*, E. iv., 7, in the British Museum, and also printed by the Roxburgh Club, under the title of *Merlinus*, 4to., 1830, verses 909, 917-921, 929-940. It may be viewed as an authority as far as regards this and certain other transactions, following, apparently closely, some prose account. The reader is not obliged to suppose that the facts in all poems are necessarily fictions: witness the *Lusiad* of Camoens, which is a poetical narrative of the voyage of Vasco di Gama. The lines are as follows:—

Insula pomorum quæ fortunata vocatur.
 — Illic jura novem geniali lege sorores
 Dant his qui veniunt nostris ex partibus ad se,
 Quarumque prior est fit doctior arte medendi,
 Exceditque suas formâ præstante sorores.
 Morgen ei nomen
 Illuc post bellum Camblani vulnere læsum
 Duximus Arthurum nos conducente Barintho,
 Æquora cui fuerunt et cœli sidera nota.
 Hoc rectore ratis cum principe venimus illuc,
 Et nos quo decuit Morgen suscepit honore,
 Inque suis thalamis posuit super aurea regem
 Strata: manumque sibi detexit vulnus honestâ
 Inspexitque diu: tandem redire salutem
 Posse sibi dixit, si secum tempore longo
 Esset, et ipsius vellet medicamine fungi.
 Gaudentes igitur regem commissimus illi,
 Et dedimus ventis redeundo vela secundis.

We may a little explain these verses by referring to the point we have before touched upon, that the battle-ground of Camlan was but a few miles from the sea; and that when it was reached, there was a water communication all the way along the north coasts of Cornwall, Devonshire, and Somersetshire, and up the Brent to the Isle of Avalon. This place of refuge was therefore preferred, and the following will be the translation and sense of the same verses.

“At the Isle of Avallon, a favoured spot, nine sisters preside, of whom one of nobler form and skilled in the art

of healing is the superior. Morgen is her name: and to this place those from our parts are privileged to go. Hither, under the guidance and direction of Barinthus, we conveyed Arthur after the battle of Camlan, who had been wounded in the fight. Our conductor was used to the sea, and could steer by the stars. With him for the captain of our vessel we arrived here with our prince, and were received with due honour by Morgen, who laid the king on an embroidered couch, and herself uncovered his wound and examined it much; and said he might be healed, but must remain a long time under her treatment. Hearing this, we gladly entrusted the king to her care, and enjoyed a most favourable wind for our return."

Our readers will thank us for the extract from this elegant poem of *Merlinus*, containing information which does not appear attainable elsewhere, and which composition it is presumable was translated originally from an account written by a Dumnonian; for it is said, "Thither those from our parts are privileged to go." The verses, it will be observed, do not speak of the death of Arthur; and there is no mention of him in other parts of the poem. We repeat that this narrative has every appearance of being authentic, and its variation from all other accounts is singular.

To continue with the narrative of the wounded king. Arthur, thus removed to the hospital, or charitable institution, in the Isle of Avallon, it would appear, survived for many weeks, if there be faith to be given to Matthew of Westminster's chronology, which is correct in many instances, who places the battle of Camlan in 541, and his death in 542. John Rouse, who deserves the more attention, as he was accustomed to make researches in ancient Welsh manuscripts, assigns the precise day, namely the twenty-first of May in that year. But we must endeavour to give the events somewhat in order.

The battle of Camlan, according to the relators of it, is said to have had this peculiarity, that, after the death of Medrawd and the partial defeat of his army, the remainder, collecting together, drew up again in array, and were only finally defeated after great further slaughter on both sides. Medrawd, possibly from knowing Arthur's custom of attacking in person towards the end of an engagement,

had kept back large reserves ; and it was in this latter part of the affair that Arthur and some of his commanders are described as falling ; the resistance made against them even then being of the most formidable description.

As Constantine the Third, Arthur's successor, does not appear to have accompanied him to the Isle of Avallon, we may conclude he stayed behind on account of military arrangements, and to complete the dispersion of the enemy. After a time he rejoined Arthur at the Avallon retreat, where he found him not recovering under the hands of his skilful doctress, but, on the contrary, gradually approximating to his end. Arthur wished to give up his crown, and chief command in the war, to him ; which was the more appropriate, as he was not only one of his nearest relations, but his father, Cador, had also lost his life in his service at the fatal field of Camlan. This done, he returned to the army ; for Giraldus Cambrensis describes Arthur, whose death occurs a short time afterwards, as buried, not by this person, his successor, but by his late kind hostess and attendant, Morgana.

The appointment of Constantine III to the pendragonship, under these circumstances, seems to have been at once acknowledged by the Britons. Arthur had abdicated, and appeared no more on the scene ; and if he languished for six months, as a comparison of Rouse's statement with that of Matthew of Westminster would imply, he must, having thus resigned the throne, have been partially forgotten in those stirring times. Hence the reports as to the uncertainty of his death, which formed a myth for so many centuries afterwards, seem to have originated.

We have thus given the death of Arthur Mabuter, king of the Britons, as according to the *History* of Matthew of Westminster and the *British Chronicles*, and authenticated, as to some particulars, by the *Triads* and the *Liber Distinctionum*, and the *Institutio Principis* of Giraldus Cambrensis. But there was a poetic handling of the subject by the romance writers of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, which gave to the event the shape and guise of the most airy fiction. The romances of the class of the *Mort d'Arthur* represent him as receiving his death wound, in single combat, from Medrawd, whom he slays, and as requesting one of his knights, as he lies wounded under a

tree, and otherwise unattended, to throw his sword, "Excalibar", into the stream of the Camlan, and to inform him what he sees upon so doing. He returns twice without executing his mission, being unwilling to throw away a weapon whose hilt was so richly studded with jewels. The third time, being urged by the king, he projects it aloft with violence into the air, and to a great distance; and as the sword descends to the water, a hand and arm suddenly issues forth, catches the sword by the hilt, flourishes it round in a circle three times, and disappears beneath the waters of the river. The knight sees this astonished; but, returning to his tree, is still more astonished to find his master gone, whom, indeed, he never sees more. This fairy myth is varied more or less with additional circumstances. However, a few lines from the ancient ballad we have before noticed, in Percy's *Reliques of Ancient Poetry*, vol. iii., p. 33, will give the simple form of the legend:

Sir Mordred lifted up his sword,
And fierce to meet the king ran (rode) he;
The king his spear he through him thrust
A fathom thorow his bodie.

When Mordred felt the stroke of death,
And found that he was wounded so,
He thrust himself upon the spear,
And struck the king a deadly blow.

Then grimly died Sir Mordered
Presently upon that tree;
And bloody streams ran from the king
Ere to the duke returned he.

Sir Lukin then he thus bespake:
Sir knight, thou hast been faithful tried,
Now take my sword, Excalibar,
That hangs so freely by my side.

O! take my sword, Excalibar,
And there into the river throw;
For here henceforth, beneath this tree,
All use of weapons I forego.

The third time, after being reproached by the wounded king, he does it, which is thus described:

The duke, all shent (shamed) at this rebuke,
No answer made unto the king,
But to the river took the sword,
And threw it far as he could fling.

A hand and arm did meet the sword,
And flourished three times in the air,
Then sunk beneath the running stream,
And of the duke was seen no mair.

All sore astonished stood the duke,
He stood as still as still might be,
Then hastened back to tell the king,
But he was gone from b'neath the tree.

Unto what place he could not tell,
For never after he did him spy;
But he saw a barge go from the land,
And he heard ladies (nymphs) howl and cry.

And whether the king were there or not,
He never knew, nor ever could,
For from that sad and direful day
He never more was seen on mould.

Arthur's death thus seems to have blended well with poetic fiction. But besides this, his story extended itself into numerous fairy tales, of which, as we have explained before, Sicily was an especial focus and centre. The Normans introduced the story. Morgana, transformed to a fairy, was said to reside there. The mirages and optical delusions on the sea coast were called by her name, "Fata Morgagna"; and she was said to preside in Arthur's phantom palace, in the forests at the back of Mount Etna, where he lived in happiness unbroken and unclouded; not only restored to life, but restored also to his kingly state.

We must now turn our attention to the consequences of this war, which produced an entirely new state of affairs in the kingdom of ancient Britain of that day. There had been a general lull and quietude all over the island for ten years before, by the peace so happily introduced; but now the two leading races, the Celtic and Teutonic, were let loose against each other. The sound of renewed war was heard; and, by the time that another ten years had elapsed, the Britons had lost the remnant of their Belgic, *i.e.*, Britanno-Belgic provinces, comprising Hampshire, Wiltshire, etc., their stronghold of Sarum, the cemetery of their kings on Salisbury Plain, and lastly, their city of London,—a place evidently of such note, even in that day, as to give a *prestige* to whichever side possessed it.

We may remark further of the disastrous conflict of Camlan, that it seems to have produced among the Britons themselves a change in the line of their sovereigns.

Within three years of this period, that is, in 545, Maelgwyn Gwynedd, or Maglocune, king of North Wales, becomes conjoint sovereign paramount of Britain, the dignity being divided; and thenceforth it continued in a new line of princes; and the change of dynasty, though two short reigns of princes of Arthur's family intervened, seems in reality to date from this civil war. It became, indeed, the excuse—for so Maelgwyn Gwynedd, we have reason to believe, made it—to interfere hostilely as regards Arthur, though it is not to be inferred that he appeared on the field at Camlan, but only intended to overawe the Britons of the South, to bring them over to his interest. The *Vita Merlini* gives us a curious trait of the manners of the Britons of those times; for we gather from it that it was customary for the candidates for the pendragonship to make a military inroad, not altogether friendly, and yet not decidedly hostile, into the territories of the neighbouring states, to secure their votes and interest. Thus Vortigern is described canvassing for this honour, vv. 987-9:

Vortigernus enim Consul Gewissus in omnes
Agmina ducebat patrias, ut duceret illas.
Lædens innocuos miserandâ clade colonos.

That is, in English: "Vortigern, the governor of the province (afterwards that) of the West Saxons, marched his forces into all the neighbouring states, that he might be chosen their leader, ravaging, with a dreadful havoc, the unoffending inhabitants of the colonial towns." By comparing this passage with Gildas, c. 24, it will be seen that the Roman-British towns were called, in common parlance, "coloniz", and the inhabitants of them, "coloni". These were, no doubt, adverse to Vortigern.

Maelgwyn appears to have acted according to this pattern; and we may conclude that it was in some transaction growing out of this demonstration, that the three knights or officers of Arthur were killed. We have to examine an obscure passage in the *History*, or rather *Epistle*, of Gildas, c. 33, to illustrate these matters: a passage in which it must be allowed there are many inconsistencies, as it at present stands,—and especially there is a corruption of the text, which is required to be removed. This being done, however, the true application appears to be sufficiently obvious.

The passage reads, in the printed editions of Gildas, "Nonne in primis adolescentiæ annis avunculum regem cum fortissimis propemodum militibus quorum vultus non catulorum leonis in acie magnoperè dispare visebantur acerrimè ense, hastâ, igni oppressisti? parùm cogitans propheticum dictum, Viri, inquiens sanguinum et doli non dimidiabunt dies suos." That is, in English: "Didst thou not, in the first years of thy youth, most sharply oppress with sword, spear, and fire, the king thy uncle, and his soldiers lion-countenanced in battle, who almost might be pronounced the bravest of the brave? Thou thoughtest then but little of the saying of the prophet, that men of blood and deceit shall not live out half their days." Here it is very evident, admitting we have the correct words of the author, that Gildas is speaking of something which had occurred very long before the time in which he wrote, 545; for even then Maelgwyn had been twenty-eight years on the throne of North Wales, whereas the death of Arthur had only taken place comparatively very recently, that is, within three years. At the same time the passage is capable of referring to him, for the British prince was the uncle of Maelgwyn, though much younger; for which point see Langhorne's *Chronicon Regum Angliæ*, from which it appears that Maelgwyn's mother was daughter of Uther Pendragon; which relationship also is ascertained otherwise.

Does then the passage apply to Arthur, or not? Some have suggested, we believe, that it might import that Maelgwyn Gwynedd, when he came to the throne of North Wales, in 517, had dethroned Caswallon Law-hir, his predecessor; but the same was not the uncle, but the father of Maelgwyn. We seem then necessitated to receive that our Arthur was the subject of the remark, and therefore venture to suggest that Gildas actually wrote, not "adolescentiæ", but "insolentiæ", and that the former reading has been surreptitiously introduced. The fact is, that the author is speaking of certain acts of violence and flagitiousness by which he sought to obtain the pendragonship, for so the chief sway was called. These occurred, not in the first years of youth, which is usually not an ambitious season of life, but ostensibly a few years before the time in which Gildas wrote, in the latter part of Arthur's domina-

tion, when Maelgwyn was pushing his designs forward, and which, consequently, might appropriately have been called the “period of his insolence”, or ambitious pretensions; and thus the text have been, as we have said, “*primis insolentiæ annis*”. This is a mode of expression not very foreign from the Latin idiom; and yet, in the present instance, it would appear to have been misconceived by a scribe who copied the work, and was inattentive to the meaning of his author. Nay, it is very possible he might have been misled by some contraction used in an ancient manuscript, or by an accidental illegibility. In the same way we have “*lanio fulve*” in all the editions, instead of “*leo fulve*”, in c. 32 of his *History*.

The *Lives of the Saints* present us with two allusions to this war. The first is in the *Life of St. Cadoc*, as in the Cottonian Manuscript, VESPASIAN, A. XIV., where the singular expiation, or requirement of a fine of a hundred cows, occurs mentioned, as we have noted in Part II. of the present chapter. The slaughterer of the three knights, there styled Liges-Sauc, son of Eliman surnamed Lau-hir, or Long-hand, of course could be no other than Maelgwyn Gwynedd himself; and the *Legend* describes the reconciliation as only effected by the mediation of the Saint, after Maelgwyn had been hunted about by Arthur in almost as many places as the boar Truyth in the tale, and for a greater length of time.

The second allusion is in John of Tinmouth's *Life of St. Paternus*, in which it appears that the saint, in crossing the island to Cambria from Gaul at this juncture, fell in with the army of Maelgwyn Gwynedd going south, and arrayed against his fellow countrymen in that quarter.

Mr. Ritson, in his *Life of Arthur*, 12mo., 1825, pp. 80, 146, makes a decided objection to the use of the term “knights”, as applied to this period,—and, indeed, the times of knight errantry had not yet begun; but the Latin word used on this and various other occasions connected with Arthur's followers and companions, is “*milites*”, implying merely warriors; and is thus used by Gildas in his *History*, c. 8. It was not till much later times that the medieval sense of knight became associated with the word. However, in regard to the objection itself, being more specious than having any real basis, had it not been

made by a person having some rank as a critic and antiquary, it need not have been noticed.

These hostilities on the part of Maelgwyn Gwynedd, of whatsoever nature they may have been, seem to have been continued towards Arthur's successors, that is, against Constantine the Third and Aurelius Conan: at least, so we may judge, as Taliesin, though belonging to his court, is represented as reproaching him on that score, according to Roberts in his *Tysilio*, p. 121. His words are: "Be neither blessing nor success to Maelgwyn Gwynedd. May vengeance overtake him for the wrongs, the treachery, and cruelty, he has shown to the race of Arthur," etc.

CHAPTER III.

SIXTH CENTURY HISTORY.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF ARTHUR MABUTER, KING OF THE BRITONS.

PART IV.

MISCELLANEOUS PARTICULARS RELATING TO THE KINDRED, FRIENDS, AND ADHERENTS, OF THIS ANCIENT PRINCE.

WE shall touch again on the literary evidences relating to the history of Arthur, when we treat, at a subsequent page, of the discovery of his remains. We have now pretty well gone through the career of this monarch; but before we come to that part of our subject, or, indeed, proceed further, it seems requisite to speak more particularly of the consorts of his throne, and of his kindred and friends, who form a somewhat numerous retinue. We have had to mention several of these personages before, as they have come into the course of our narrative; but we may do so now more connectedly, as a separate branch of our present inquiries.

The accounts we have of this prince assign him three wives, but leave many points quite unexplained respecting them. We must now somewhat examine and see what are the general bearings of the said accounts.

The wives of Arthur have all one name handed down to us, *Gwenhwyvar*, which, as we have explained at a preceding page, is titular, and always signifies queen. The first then was *Gwenhwyvar* the daughter of *Gwythyr* of the North (*Myvyrian Archaeology*, i. 173); the second, *Gwenhwyvar* daughter of *Gwaryd Ceint* (*Myvyrian Arch.*, ii. 12); and the third, *Gwenhwyvar* daughter of *Gogyrran Gawr*, whose mother was a Roman (*Myvyrian Arch.*, ii. 65, etc.), and who had been educated by Arthur's cousin, *Cador*, earl of Cornwall, as he is called (Roberts' *Tysilio*, p. 146). This was the person left as regent with *Medrawd*; for whom, however, she deserted her husband, which occasioned the civil war. She afterwards, according to the *Chronicle*, took refuge in a nunnery at *Carleon*. *Giraldus* records the second as buried with her husband at *Glastonbury*; but, ethnologically, the yellow hair would denote a Caledonian race. According to the accounts, it would be implied that all three consorts were repudiated from one cause or the other. So far we get a species of general account; since, to know the true history of his private life in detail would require the labours of an *Eginhart* to clear away the mists of romance, and to introduce sober narrative. Much has, no doubt, been added to the previous stock of information by ascertaining that the name *Gwenhwyvar* (*Gwanhumara*), or queen, is wholly titular, and therefore might, of course, have applied to different persons.

We can also show that there is no proof that he was a polygamist, there appearing to have been reason to suppose that there was a repudiation of his former consorts, as before alluded to. This may lead us to some comment on another topic connected with the ancient Britons, and we trust the digression will be pardoned.

This is their alleged community of wives, which has not been adverted to before, from a full belief of the futile and slanderous nature of the charge. The custom has, however, sometimes been supposed to have existed by authors of talent and credit. In particular, the Honble. Algernon Herbert has conceived there was due foundation for the

opinion, and has supported it by the alleged instance of Arthur's wives (*Dublin Nennius*, 4to., 1847, p. LVI); but the chief argument is from the *Commentaries* of Julius Cæsar (*Gaulish Wars*, v. 14), who imputes this custom to the early inhabitants of this island; otherwise, besides Cæsar's testimony, there is only a very indefinite reference to the practice by St. Jerome and others.

In brief remark on the above. Julius Cæsar does, indeed, make the assertion, but it is one of those passages suspected to be interpolated, or possibly otherwise only inserted by report. With regard to other writers,—Solinus, St. Jerome, etc.,—their statements are very indefinite, always connected with some distant part more and more remote, as Caledonia and the Orkneys, like Pope's inquiry for the North. Considering, then, how vague such assertions are, and the doubtful authenticity of the passage in Cæsar, we need have no further trouble on the question: and there is not a line in Gildas, Nennius, or the *Chronicles*, to substantiate the imputation, but rather, indeed, much implied evidence to the contrary.

We scarcely need observe, that a plurality of wives, or a promiscuous intercourse of the sexes in ancient British times, is never supposed by those who read the accounts come down to us of the said times. We mean that such is not their association of ideas suggested by the tenor of the accounts. Thus, when Constantine of Armorica is described as marrying a Roman lady of rank, it is always supposed a real marriage; the same when Vortigern marries Rowena; and also in other cases. Vortimer, Catigern, and Pascent, are always supposed, in the reader's imagination, to be Vortigern's sons by his first repudiated wife. Read, also, the reproof of Gildas to Maelgwyn Gwynedd in his *History*, c. 35. Could any further evidence be required, we might allege the ancient genealogies, though the same be not now extant, on which the earlier parts of the British *Chronicles*, as we know from analogy of the Irish *Chronicles*, must have been founded. Actual matrimonial alliances, and not promiscuous concubinages, must have been necessary for the duly preserving these lines of descent without confusion, and we can cite Milton to this effect:

Hail, wedded love !— by thee —
Relations dear, and all the charities
Of father, son, and brother, first were known.

Paradise Lost, iv, 750.

It is true that the wife of Argentotoxus, a Caledonian chief in the third century, is represented by Herodian as proclaiming and glorying in the practice of concubinage. The truth of this anecdote, however, as introduced by this author, appears highly doubtful. He seems to make a species of oratorical point against the morals of the Romans of those days. In short, the report of this reputed practice among the Britons and Caledonians, appears to have been current as among the class of travellers' wonders: somewhat of the same species as that in Solinus, that among the ancient Hibernians the infant always took his first food on the point of a sword.

Arthur's kindred are much mentioned in *Triad*, *Chronicle*, and *Legend*, not to speak of romances; and the account of them is so consistent, as to add much to the general probability of his story. With a few exceptions, they are represented as being from the North, where, indeed, his chief interests lay, and where the alliances, so happily made a century before, had both given permanency to the Dumnonian family on the throne, and had stemmed the tide of Saxon conquests. Arthur was quite half a Caledonian himself, and his cousin Medrawd, son of Lotho, a king of Strathclyde, whom we have now to notice, was even still more identified with that country. He was his great friend and confidant in early life; and him he trusted with the care of his consort and his kingdom when he went to Gaul; but he proved the purloiner of both. When he won his confidence, he seemed to have been endued with the milder qualities: since he is mentioned in the *Triads*, which has been before observed, as one of the knights at Arthur's court noted for urbanity. Except that this trait is mentioned of him, his memory lives only otherwise as that of a traitor,—first to his sovereign, in violating his duties of allegiance; and, secondly, to his countrymen, in engaging in a league with the Saxons.

According to Scotch accounts, Arthur had altered the succession to the pendragonship from Medrawd to Constantine III (see Buchanan's *History*, p. 150), notwith-

standing it seems he still had the imprudence of leaving him regent. Further, so unsuspicious was he, that he took Cadur, his usual viceroy in Dumnonia, with him to Gaul: nor does it appear that he made Constantine even the second in command of his forces in Britain (see *Triads*, 20 and 22), considering, possibly, that he and Medrawd stood to each other in the light of rivals, and that dissensions might ensue.

We should mention here, that there appears to be a very improbable account of Arthur and Medrawd given in Caradoc of Llancharvan's *Life of Gildas*, c. 10. In that compilation, Melwas, a local chieftain, is said to elope with Arthur's consort, and a civil war ensues thereon, and the monks at Glastonbury at last produce a reconciliation. Some suppose Medrawd and Melwas to be different persons. But in answer to this, it is obvious that the two names, if at all illegibly written, would hardly be distinguishable in an ancient manuscript; which will be immediately apparent if both these words be written in usual medieval letters and placed together.

This variation, then, is not easily reconciled: nor do we seem justified in departing from the customary version of the story as in the *Triads* and in the *Chronicle* of Tysilio. Geoffrey of Monmouth has much perverted the narrative as in the latter, and very unluckily for his own credit as an author; for he ignorantly makes Arthur land at Richborough instead of Southampton to punish him, whereas the former place at the time was in possession of the Saxons. All accounts represent Arthur when returned to Britain as attacking with the utmost vigour and animosity, and the other as resisting with extraordinary pertinacity. Medrawd ransacked and pillaged Arthur's Dumnonian metropolis: Galliwig according to *Triad* 52, and Celliwig according to *Triads* 64 and 111; of which we have treated at a previous page; and Arthur in his turn took the first opportunity to lay waste and destroy the town of Medrawd (*Triad* 52), for it appears that he had given him some territory in Dumnonia. At the last great battle of Camlan they both fell, but the advantage remained with the Dumnonian side, and Medrawd's party and the Saxons, with whom he had made common cause, were discomfited. This kept the Dumnonian family on their

throne: though Medrawd's two sons, and their abettors in alliance with the Saxons, soon afterwards renewed the war. In the sequel they were beaten, and one of them killed in a church at Winchester, and the other in a monastery in London. Commiseration seems to have been raised on account of their premature fate, and in particular Gildas, who is believed to have been their uncle, laments them in his *Epistle*, c. 28. Notwithstanding the rebellion of their father, he calls them "regii pueri", or royal youths.

The battle of Camlan was fought on the banks of the stream of that name in the centre of Cornwall, flowing into the Bristol Channel, and apparently at the spot near Egloshayle, where we have before assigned it. Arthur had by his two former battles driven Medrawd to this place from Southampton or Bittern. The field of battle is usually called the "plain of Camlan", but the ground is too much of an undulating and upland nature to be properly so called.

The *Triads* appear to regret Arthur's tactics in this battle, in dividing his men three times with those of Medrawd, to which they impute the great loss sustained by the Britons (*Triad* 51). It is not easy to see at the first glance what is meant: but by examining the context in the accounts of the fight in Tysilio and Geoffrey of Monmouth, we understand it is intended to say that he had not provided sufficient reserves. For we find Medrawd is described as keeping more than half his army back to provide for contingencies: and this force it was which caused the victory to be so dearly purchased by the Britons, and rendered the battle so protracted, as we have already mentioned in our account of it at a previous page.

Cador, Arthur's brother by his mother's side, presents us with a far more pleasing picture. According to Tysilio, he was a brave warrior in the field: and accompanying Arthur to Gaul, he escaped the numerous slaughters there, by which the greater part of Arthur's intimates appear to have been cut off. He returned with him to Britain, and supported him faithfully in the murderous contest with the usurper, till he fell himself at the battle of Camlan. He is styled by Tysilio "Earl of Corn-

wall", a title, by the way, some centuries later than the era at which he lived: but we are to understand by it that he was subordinate governor, or viceroy, of Dumnonia.

His son Constantine III was one of the combatants at Camlan, and after a short interval rejoined his sovereign in the Isle of Avallon, and according to his wish received the transfer of his crown to himself. He received, in fact, a double sovereignty, for he became not only king of the Britons, but king also of Dumnonia, which last kingdom was possessed by his descendants for three or four centuries afterwards. But the kingship of the Britons after a brief period departed from his race, as we shall soon see.

This sovereign, on coming to the throne, continued the war with Medrawd's sons and the Saxons: and having gained a victory, caused the two youths to be put to death as has been mentioned. He only reigned himself three years, for at the end of that time he was put to death by Aurelius Conan, under circumstances of the nature of which we are not apprized, and some say he fell in battle. This Aurelius Conan was his cousin, and like himself nephew to Arthur: and his reign ending in 557, the sovereignty of the Britons, of which since Arthur's death Maelgwyn Gwynedd, king of North Wales, held a divided share, entirely devolved to that monarch.

It is a somewhat singular feature, that though the romance writers have so multifariously made the companions of Arthur characters in romance, they have not so introduced this Constantine.

Morgana, asserted to have been Arthur's near relation, and according to some his sister, there is reason to believe was a real existing personage. Her name is truly British, and according to some accounts she was sent for, and came from some distance, to attend him when wounded at Glastonbury, and remained tendering her assistance till his death. According to other accounts, she had a residence, retreat, or establishment of her own at Avallon, which is, indeed, by far the best founded opinion, and more consistent with the transfer there of the wounded king. She is not only described in the verses as placing the king on an embroidered couch, and ministering to him in his

afflicted condition, but when dead, according to Giraldus, she duly attended to his funeral obsequies. Romance and mythology have been busy with her memory, and as Arthur was feigned to be conveyed away to Sicily, so she was made to be his attendant fairy. He was believed to inhabit an enchanted palace among the mountains and forests of that island, as we have before alluded to, and she was the fabled divinity of the spot. Together with this, the mirages, optical delusions, and refractions on the coast were called "Fata Morgagna", literally "Morgana the fairy", but perhaps originally more closely associated with the idea of her agency in these phenomena, in the form "Fatti di Morgagna", or the doings of Morgana, being supposed her production, and are so known to this day, not only on the coast of Sicily, but in all other parts of Europe, and indeed of the world.

Gwalchmai, son of Anna, daughter of Uther Pendragon by her second husband Gwyar, and consequently half brother to Medrawd and first cousin to Arthur, is another person who figured extremely in those times. He is mentioned in *Triad* 70 as a naturalist: but it seems, also, he could wield the sword: he was a great warrior, and is recorded as falling in the battle with Medrawd at the landing at Southampton. (See the *Chronicle* of Tysilio, p. 170, and Geoffrey of Monmouth.) His name was Latinized to Walganus, and in French romances became Walweyn; and as well as it occurring several times in both the above *Chronicles*, he is mentioned likewise by William of Malmesbury in his *History*, book iii, who confirms his lineage and relationship to Arthur, and informs us that his tumulus, fourteen feet long, was discovered on the coast of Pembrokeshire in the year 1086. He says traditions appeared to be uncertain as to the cause of his death. See also Usher's *Primordia*, p. 269. The medieval French romances in which he figures as a hero are numerous.

The foregoing are the persons who are mentioned as Arthur's kindred. There is no proof of any surviving issue; at any rate, it is quite certain that he left none which came to the throne. Dugdale in his *Monasticon*, vol. iii, p. 190, from the *Register* of Llandaff, mentions Noah, the son of Arthur, as giving lands to the church of

Llandaff in the days of Dubritius the bishop ; but as this prelate died, or otherwise quitted his see in the year 512, the date may be taken as a sufficient proof, in the absence of other evidence, that the two Arthurs were not the same person. *Triad* 70 speaks of Llechen the naturalist as the son of Arthur ; but as we are informed he was slain at the battle of Llongborth (see Williams' *Eminent Welshmen*), it is thus pretty clear that he was the son not of Arthur, but of that other person named "Jarddur", whom we have spoken of before, and who was the commander of the Britons there.

Howel ap Emyr, cousin of Arthur, who was distinct from the other Howel, attended him to Armorica, and survived all the battles both in Gaul and Britain. He is said to be buried at Lanytyd-Mawr in Merionethshire. The other Howel, a prince of the Caledonians and a brother of Gildas, we have seen at a preceding page, fell in a feud with Arthur, having advanced concurrent claims to be king of the Britons.

Of his retainers, the most noted were Bedwer and Cai, who, indeed, appear to have been his constant companions and attendants.

Bedwer, the first of these, was Arthur's "pincerna" or butler : by which term we may understand, regard being had to the early date of the times of which we treat, that he acted as a species of chamberlain and master of his feasts and entertainments. Together with this he was a military chief ; and, according to Tysilio, one of the most active commanders in the Gaulish wars. Arthur gave him a barony in Armorica, and his descendants continued in opulence to the sixteenth century, when they lived in the north of Italy, and maintained their origin from the worthy and valiant knight of whom we speak. (See the *History* of Ponticus Virunnius, p. 43.) One of them, Count Bedouar, is understood to have excited Ponticus Virunnius to translate and abridge the *History* of Geoffrey of Monmouth, which he did with much elegance and some few additions. Bedwer is called in *Triad* 69 a coroneted knight of battle. He was killed in Arthur's last encounter in Gaul, at Langres, and is said to be buried at Bayeux, of which city he is reported to have been the founder.

Cai or Cais, the treasurer, if that be the correct inter-

pretation of his name, was his other chief retainer. His office would be then no less necessary than now in an establishment of a king: but at the present time is distributed into numerous departments. However, his office was honourable, and we find from Tysilio that he attended Arthur to the wars, and was one of his military commanders. He is called in *Triad* 69, like Bedwer, one of the three coroneted knights of battle, and like him he received a barony in Gaul from Arthur, and was killed at the same time in the conflict near Langres. Romance appears to have made very free with his name, which has caused the extant accounts of him to be very uncertain. In one respect the two retainers differ very much as to the nature of their names: for while that of Cai may be judged to be titular, implying collector or treasurer, we cannot discover that there is any official significance in the appellation Bedwer.

With regard to Arthur's three "Chadfarchawg", or battle knights, who are commemorated in his own verses, which may be seen at our previous page 124, and also in *Triad* 29. The last-mentioned of them is Caradoc Vreich-vas, and his name occurs in stanzas xxvi, xxvii and xxxi, of Aneurin's poem of the *Battle of Gododin*. He is described as falling in that conflict which took place in the year 570, having been killed in the breach of the rampart. He is unmentioned in the *Chronicles*; but according to *Triad* 64 he was chief magistrate of Galliwig, Arthur's metropolis. Another copy of the *Triads* in the *Myvyrian Archæology*, for Mael hir, or Mael the tall, has Mened, i.e. Menwaed, and for Llyr has Llud.

It will be observed, that in treating of the subject of Arthur and his companions, we have declined bringing forward the numerous accounts, where they border too much on the marvellous, of campaigns, battles, sieges, single combats, skirmishes, ambuscades, surprises, slaughters, assaults, charges, retreats and fightings, which are attributed to him and to them in the British *Chronicles*: not but that we judge that much of the accounts may be true, though appearing to us not probable, but embellishments, amplifications, and extravagancies being introduced in them *ad libitum*, it is impossible to distinguish the true parts from the false, so that there is no alternative, except

rejecting everything of this kind : it not being our intention to collect materials of a melo-dramatic nature, but to approximate as much as possible what is most authentically known of this prince to genuine history. More indeed is gained by omitting these embellishments of romance than by introducing them. By excluding them we diminish our mass of materials it is true, but increase much in value what remains.

For a pedigree of Arthur in the direct male ascending line, see the *Britannic Researches*, p. 245. For his lineage through his mother, Igren or Eigyr, see the Appendix of Williams' *Monmouthshire*, where one is given from Coel Godhebaug, in the beginning of the fourth century, who was the competitor with his male ancestor, Bran ap Llyr, or Asclepiodotus. He thus is shown to have united in some measure the claims of both contending lines, for a party seems to have been kept up for two or three centuries in favour of each of these families : and he is shown also to have had numerous connexions by relationship with persons of eminence in Cambria and Strathclyde, two of the nearest of whom, however, Medrawd and Maelgwyn Gwynedd, appear in the light of opponents.

It may be required to set forth a short examination of Arthur's contemporaries in Britain during his reign, from 517 to 542. They will be as follows : Maelgwyn or Maglocune, king of North Wales ; Meurig ap Teudrig, king of Morganwg and Gwent ; Vortipore, otherwise Gwerthyver, king of the Demetæ, and Cuneglas, whose territories lay between the Severn and the Wye : of the Caledonians, Lotho and Urien Rheged ; and Aumeric in Ireland.

Contemporary saints during the same period appear to have been, Gildas Badonicus ; St. Teilo, bishop of Llandaff ; St. David, archbishop of Caerleon and primate of Wales ; St. Cadoc, according to the Cottonian manuscript, *Vespasian*, A. xiv ; St. Carantoc ; St. Padarn ; St. Dochdwy, otherwise Dochu ; St. Petroc ; St. Samson ; St. Brandan ; St. Kentigern ; St. Kyned ; St. Iltutus, abbot, according to Usher ; St. Columbanus ; the bishops Paulus and Daniel ; and of women, St. Bridget and St. Dwywnwen. Of these, only two left any writings behind them which are extant, the saints Gildas and Columbanus, of whom the last-mentioned was but young at the time of Arthur's decease.

We should not omit to say, that in all inquiries respecting our ancient British prince, the existence of the other insular ruler, Arthruis, should be constantly borne in mind. He was of later date by half a century; but it is not impossible that the writers of the lives of the saints may have, in casual mention, in some cases confused the two. We find that Dr. Owen Pughe and some other moderns have done so, which should excite the greater suspicion that the same mistake may have been made anciently. This Arthruis, who was the son of Meurig ap Teudrig, had his dominions in Gwent and Morganwg, and consequently was contiguous to the ecclesiastics both of St. David's and Caerleon.

We may find an instance in point in the *Life of St. Kyned*, in the Collection of the *Lives of the Saints* before referred to in the British Museum, *Vespasian*, A. xiv. We have there mention of Arthur's Palace, in the province of Goyr, in the lordship of Gower, in the ancient district called Morganwg. The residence, we may observe, of the said Arthruis is meant in this case, and not of the Arthur who forms our present subject.

CHAPTER III.

SIXTH CENTURY HISTORY.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF ARTHUR MABUTER, KING OF THE BRITONS.

PART V.

THE DISCOVERY OF HIS REMAINS IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

WE need not remind our readers that, in treating of our subject, we are without the usual resource of coins and inscriptions to bring to the aid of the history of this era. When the Romans left the island, they took their art of coining with them; and it reappeared no more for about

two centuries, when the Anglo-Saxon sceattas began to be struck. It is unnecessary to enlarge on the great utility of this species of illustration, which does not exist in the present case. We have no coins of Vortigern, Vortimer, Constantine of Armorica, Aurelius Ambrosius, Uther Pendragon, Arthur, Constantine the Third, Aurelius Conanus, or Vortipore, kings of the Britons. Nor are their heads, likenesses, effigies, or representations, at all known, or those of any of them.

We may make an exception with regard to inscriptions, as one is stated to have existed in which his name was mentioned; and in reference to this we feel bound not to quit the topic of this ancient warrior without adverting to one of the most singular subjects of archæology, ancient or modern, which has ever come forth to notice,—that is, the reported discovery of his remains at Glastonbury, in the days of Henry the Second, and of a leaden cross inscribed to his memory. There appears scarcely a doubt that such a discovery took place, being authenticated by Giraldus Cambrensis, who records that he conversed with the subsequent abbot of Glastonbury on the subject; as also the circumstance is set forth in three or four other ancient accounts, which are come down to us. Nevertheless, it has evidently become, in the transit, in the way we have received the narrative, somewhat exaggerated, interpolated, and distorted, so as to give a legendary appearance to what might have been expected to have been strictly matter of fact and detail. A short explanation will be necessary to show how the explorations were suggested which led to the discovery, as well as a remark or two on the results.

The period when the discovery in question was made, was the year 1170, when, the conquest of North Wales having been completed, King Henry the Second was using every means to remove any impediment to the ultimate subjection of the country which might exist, and endeavouring, in every way, to increase his influence.

Now there was a vague legend among the Welsh, either that Arthur was not dead; or that he would revive, and become their king again. The idea haunted their minds: indeed, his history stated that he had not been killed outright at the battle of Camlan, but had been removed,

wounded, to Glastonbury Abbey; and Matthew of Westminster adds, in his *History*, in the annals of the year 542, that it was the wish of the wounded king, that, in order not to discourage the Britons, his decease should be for a time concealed. Absurd as the superstition was, it had great influence with the credulous vulgar, and served to keep alive their ideas of independence. It became, then, desirable for Henry and his partizans to check their superstitious notion; which, like other wild superstitions, was difficult to be dealt with by reason and argument. At this conjuncture the king happened to be at Pembroke, where a minstrel, in his taking Arthur for its subject, described him as buried in the Glastonbury Abbey cemetery, between two obelisks there. According to another version, as recorded by Leland, the bard who sang the deeds of Arthur happening to be well versed in ancient British history, and being afterwards questioned by the king, became his informant. However, the *Liber Distinctionum*, of which we shall more particularly speak at a subsequent page, says nothing of this, and implies merely that he became apprized of the fact during his perambulations in Wales and his intercourse with the Welsh.

Now the abbot of Glastonbury, Henry de Blois, brother to Stephen the late king, and grandson of William the Conqueror, was the cousin of Henry the Second,—a circumstance, it may be said, favourable to imposition and collusion. But this was merely accidental: the abbacy of Glastonbury being one of the most eminent offices of that class in the kingdom, and of course likely to be conferred on an ecclesiastic of distinguished rank. The king communicated with this person, and directed him to dig at the place indicated. The abbot did so, and the following were the results.

At seven feet from the surface was found a large stone slab, on the under side of which was let in a thick plate of lead, in form of a cross, with an inscription, facing towards the stone, which read thus, HIC JACET SEPULTUS INCLITUS REX ARTHURIUS IN INSULA AVALONIA. Some accounts add the five following words more,—and even Giraldus does so in his two works, the *Liber Distinctionum* and *Institutio Principis*,—CUM WENEVERIA UXORE SUA SECUNDA. But this clearly only originates in a mistake.

Digging nine feet further down, they came to a sarcophagus formed of large timber, having been hollowed out of the trunk of an oak (see *Liber Distinctionum*, and *Institutio Principis*), in which reposed the remains of the ancient king, then reduced to dust and bones. The sarcophagus of his queen was lying by his side, whose remains were also in a similar state of decomposition. Her hair, however, which was most elaborately plaited and interwoven, and of a yellow colour, seemed in its natural state; but when one of the monks rushed down rather rudely into the excavation, and seized it, it fell to dust in his hands. The abbot and convent placed these mortuary remnants in a bipartite stone tomb in the great abbey church,—the king's remains at the west end, the queen's at the east. This was done as Arthur was considered as having been a great benefactor to the abbey in his lifetime. Fourteen years afterwards, the abbey and the greater part of its buildings were burned. About a century after this, King Edward the First, in the year 1276, caused the shrine to be removed to a place before the high altar; but the skulls of the king and queen were taken out, and exhibited to visitors of the abbey. This information, Leland acquaints us, he had from a monk of Glastonbury. (*Collectanea*, v. p. 55.) He also acquaints us, and from abbey sources, as we may understand, as before, that the wound received by Arthur was on the left side of the head, injuring the skull, and severing the ear. Stukeley informs us, in his *Itinerarium Curiosum*, folio 1736, vol. i. p. 152, that Arthur's tomb was considered to be under the great tower of the abbey, which spot is now covered over with rubbish.

The legendary part of the story consists in the large size of the bones related to have been found; which are undescribed, indeed, in the *Liber Distinctionum*, but are said to have been gigantic in the *Institutio Principis*; and of which he mentions the skull and the leg bone as seen by himself when he went to Glastonbury, in the time of the subsequent abbot. We may remark on the large size of the skull spoken of, that, save and except that this last must needs have been recognized as human, it might almost have been thought that the description applied to fossil bones. Thus Giraldus speaks of them: "His leg bone being placed besides the leg of a very tall man, and set on

the ground, reached three fingers' breadth above the knee, as the abbot showed us. His skull also was prodigiously capacious and thick, so that it was a hand's breadth between the eyes and eye-brows. There appeared on it indications of ten wounds or more; but the bone had cicatrized in every instance, except in the case of one larger than the rest, which caused his death, and left a large chasm." (*Institutio Principis*, c. 20.)

The uncertain part, historically, is the variation of the dates. 1070 has the authority of Giraldus Cambrensis, as we shall again immediately advert to; while we find 1177 is assigned by Harpsfield in his *Ecclesiastical History*, i. c. 14. 1180 is given by Ralph Higden and John Cai: 1189 by Leland in his *Collectanea*, iii. p. 154: while again 1192 is adopted both by Matthew Paris and Matthew of Westminster. The two abbots, Henry de Blois and Henry de Sully, who succeeded him, both having borne the same name, afforded, without doubt, one cause of the error, though there appear to have been others. However, the *Antiquitates Glastonienses* communicate two circumstances which will go far to set us right. They tell us that the discovery took place consequent to Henry the Second being in Wales; and again, six hundred and twenty-eight years after the death of the British king, which, as Arthur died in 542, would be 1170; and this is further corroborated by Henry the Second never having revisited Wales after the year 1169, as may be seen by a reference to Lord Lyttelton's *History* of his reign.

It should not be omitted to be noticed that the date, whether 1170 or later, has a material bearing on the authenticity both of the *Chronicle* of Tysilio and on that of Geoffrey of Monmouth. These two early chronicles, the one written about the year 1000, the other published in 1147, had alike pronounced that the British prince died at Avallon or Glastonbury; and it is well ascertained that Geoffrey of Monmouth was already dead before 1170, the earliest assigned date of the discovery. He died, in fact, in 1152, and his original was the ancient chronicle first spoken of, that is Tysilio's, which he translated and materially altered; but this fact stands in them both.

Giraldus Cambrensis, a contemporary and a person of known research, seems to have had full faith in the dis-

covery, for he has left us two rather lengthy accounts of it, but both evidently written at a considerable interval after the event: one entitled *Liber Distinctionum*, or Book of Chapters, for it has no other name; the other is his *Institutio Principis*. It is not so clear, however, that he was not imposed upon in the matter of the bones which were exhibited to him, as just noted, on his visit to the convent many years afterwards, or else that his work is interpolated at that part. To say nothing of the improbable description he gives of them. It is Edward the First who is described by Leland (see before) as taking the skulls of Arthur and his queen out of the sepulchre.

There are, in fact, two questions to attend to which seem perfectly distinct: the reality of the disinterment itself, and the bones kept for show in the convent. The most judicious opinion appears to be to admit the truth of the disinterment, but to receive with the greatest suspicion the account of the exhibition of the bones, as some supposititious ones might have been shewn as those of the British prince.

The reader is not to suppose that the discovery of this sepulchral deposit is the only instance of the kind. On the contrary, similar cases have not been very unfrequent: witness the stone of king Iuthael in Llanyltid, or Lantwit Major churchyard, in Merionethshire, in the year 1789, and known previously by tradition to be in that spot (see Sharon Turner's *Vindication of the Welsh Poets*, 8vo., 1803, p. 137). An instance very much to the same purpose may be cited from Gibson's *Camden*, in which it is mentioned that, a few years before his time, circular gold plates impressed with the form of the cross were dug up near Ballyshannon, from an interment indicated by an Irish harper's song. Some illustrations of this circumstance may be found in the *Collectanea Antiqua* of Mr. C. Roach Smith, vol. iii, pp. 149 and 244, in the latter of which passages the verses are given from the poem of *Moiraborb*, with their translation, thus:

Air barra sleibe monard
Ann ata feart churaidh,
Sdha fhleasg oir fa chopp an laoch,
As fail ortha air a mheura.

In English—

On the hill of Sleive Monard
There is a giant's cave ;
And two gold plates enclose the hero's body,
And there are golden rings upon his fingers.

Many have suspected a collusion between the king and his cousin the abbot in the affair of the disinterment, and have imagined a pretended discovery of remains in order to act on the superstition of the Welsh. We are told that the abbot, when he began to dig, surrounded the spot with curtains. On the whole, we can neither suppose that the abbot of a large convent would have ventured such a proceeding, or that the object of disabusing the superstitions of the Welsh could have been worth the attaining by such a complicated fraud and forgery, which would have required the connivance of numerous persons. The abbot, without doubt, sent a due report of the results of the excavation to the king ; but it is scarcely necessary to say no such document is now extant.

We may be able, perhaps, to add an explanation or two. The mode of interment of Arthur, it may be suspected, was that of the tumulus class, which would account for the depth of digging down. Small upright stones, or *meine hirion*, might or might not have been set on each side of the place of sepulture, but the two obelisks, which it is recorded were there in the time of Henry the Second, were evidently after additions, as will be apparent, when they are described at a subsequent page.

The ground, we may observe, according to one of the engraved views, slopes much downwards on the north side of the abbey church, where it has since been raised in a species of terrace near the building, which may have been a cause of the tumulus being obliterated in leveling the ground, so that it may have escaped notice.

The inscription on the leaden cross may require a remark. Pagan times were now over for a season in Britain. The form *DIS MANIBUS*, etc., was not at that time extant. The clergy of that day thought they were obliged to vary the pagan form, and no very good style of inscription had become generally adopted. We then have an alleged epitaph for Arthur, as may be seen at a former page, not conceived in the classic style, and yet not indited with the well expressed sentiment and appropriate diction which

the monkish rhyming epitaphs of the later Middle Ages frequently display; thus so far affording no grounds for disbelief.

It may likewise be noticed that a wood-cut is given of the cross in Camden's *Britannia*, as also in Speed's *History of England*, which substantiates the idea that the shorter form of the inscription is the genuine one. The cross, as represented in the wood-cut, has some peculiarities which appear to bespeak its authenticity. Camden, admitting his to have been the prior published delineation, apparently had it engraved from a drawing from the original, the said original being extant till within about a century, as will be presently noted.

In respect to the two obelisks, to which it is now time to recur, a pretty good account of them may be found in perhaps our oldest topographical work, the *Antiquitates Glastonienses*, of which we will further speak in a subsequent page, and now merely observe that from the description in this work, which is tolerably precise, we are able to collect the following details.

The *Antiquitates Glastonienses* inform us that British princes had been buried of old time pretty numerously in the abbey cemetery, who, as we must understand, were British princes of the Dumnonian race. It also appears from the names he gives, that various Saxons of the early times had found an interment there. He describes the obelisks pretty minutely. Of the two, the one which stood a few feet from the original abbey church was the most considerable, being twenty-six feet high and having five sides: the other was eighteen feet high and four sided. Both the obelisks seem to have been intended to obviate the usual *mutisme* of Celtic tumuli and places of sepulture, which give no intimation of the names of the buried; we have, therefore, lists of names on them and nothing else, save and except that a few words on one of the faces record the name of the founder, which we may understand to be Waimar, son of Canmore, the Tendurus of the Dumnonian annals, whose reign terminated about the year 585 of the Christian era. We happen to have some further record of this person, which it may be interesting to introduce. He is represented in the *Life of St. Teilo* as king of Dumnonia, and, under the name of Gerennius, as hospitably receiving and

entertaining that saint, who was leading away many of the Britons to Armorica to escape the yellow plague, which was so fatal in Britain in the sixth century, and of which Maelgwyn Gwynedd died in the year, as it is usually assigned, 560. He returns to Britain after the lapse of seven years and seven months, at which time Gerennius was at the point of death, and shortly afterwards died. This makes his death earlier than even usually assigned, and yet notwithstanding, Usher places it in the year 596. The Gw and W in Celtic names being convertible, we need not point out the identity of Gerennius and Wemerus. Mention of Gerennius may be found in the *Primordia*, pp. 290, 534, and, we may add, that he was not of course, as Rowland supposes in his *Mona Antiqua*, p. 187, the Gerennius or Geraint ap Erbyn, mentioned by Llowarch Hên in his *Elegy* as killed at the battle of Llongborth.

The appellations, Gerennius, Wemerus, and Waimar, are understood to be the names of one and the same man; and they are all three of the titular class. Gerennius is only a variation of the so commonly occurring Geraint, implying literally a person, that is, a man, in office; whilst the other two, Wemerus and Waimar, are merely variations of each other, being only idiomatic forms of the two words placed in conjunction, *gwr* and *mawr*, and importing a man high in station and rank. Now Usher, in his *Primordia*, p. 290, supposes this king of Dumnonia, Gerennius, or Waimar, to have been a son of Constantine the Third; whereas others consider him son of Canmore. But, on examination, the two assertions will be found only one and the same. Cunomorus, or Canmore, was no other than a title of the king of the Britons. (See the *Life of Gildas* by the Monk of Rhuy, where it is applied, as we may understand, to Maelgwyn Gwynedd.) Constantine the Third was also king of the Britons, therefore Waimar, who was only king of Dumnonia, was styled son of Canmore; and there seems sufficient illustration of the point. The other name of Waimar, Tendurus, if the orthography be correct, appears to be personal.

We will now, however, describe the sides of the obelisk seriatim, in the order given in the *Antiquitates Glastonienses*; and the short sentence alluded to in p. 170, giving the name of the builder, is on the third side.

The first side, then, has a figure insculptured on it in pontifical robes, and is uninscribed.

The second side has a crowned figure sitting in regal state, and under it are the words HER.SEXI.BLISYER., in which the traces of the original correct reading appear too much obliterated for a restoration to be attempted.

The third side stood thus, WEMEREST BANTOMF PINEPEGN, of which we now proceed with the explanation. We are told that this structure was in a dilapidated state, so that, allowing for the obliterations of time, the original reading would appear to be as follows: WEMERES F(ILIVS) CANMORI F(ECIT) FINE REGNI.

The fourth side was inscribed, HATS PVLFRED EANFLED. We may suggest that this should be restored thus, viewing the first word as a monogram: H(IC I)A(CIVN)T S(EPVLTI) PVLFRED, EANFLED.

The fifth side had a full-length effigy, or image, insculptured, we are not told of whom, and under it the names LOGPOR PESLICAS BREGDEN SPELPES HYIN GENDES BERN. This is called the lowest side (inferior); but why does not appear.

To pass on to the small obelisk. This does not appear to have been insculptured with any effigies or images, and only seems to have been inscribed on one side, thus: HEDDE EPISCOPVS BREGORED BEORWARD.

In general remark on the two obelisks, we may merely further observe, that every inference from them seems to connect them with the sixth and seventh centuries. For instance: Bregored (Blederic I), king of Dumnonia, according to Tysilio's *Chronicle*, p. 179, and *Geoffrey of Monmouth*, xi, 13, was killed at the battle of Bangor, in the year 613. Also Beorward (Beorwald) was abbot of Glastonbury in the seventh century, and was successor to Hyin Gendes, if that be the same person as the Hemgiseldus of Dumnonian history. The occurrence of Anglo-Saxon names shows the advance of the Saxons as far west as Glastonbury at this period.

Such was the place of Arthur's interment,—a spot where it seems, by the inscriptions, many persons of eminence were afterwards buried. But we must not dismiss the subject without reverting again to the circumstances of the discovery, and to the authenticity of the usual narrative of

it. Had the writers of English history properly examined this topic, they would have saved other researchers much trouble; but it has been but little attended to. Hume does not even mention it at all. He is noted, it is well known, for his disregarding archæological matters, and for his want of research in the whole earlier part of his work. Even Lord Lyttelton, who professedly wrote the *Life and History of Henry the Second*, has only a few sentences on the subject, and those very unsatisfactory. He says, vol. vi. 8vo., 1773, p. 383: "It is pretended, indeed, that the controversy (*i.e.* as to his real existence) was decided in Henry the Second's reign, by his body being found between two ancient pyramids in (the cemetery of) the abbey of Glastonbury, on a search that was made for it by the orders of that king, who had heard from a Welsh bard, that, by digging there to the depth of fifteen feet, they should find it. Giraldus Cambrensis affirms that he saw it himself; but then he says that the bones were those of a giant: and in this description of them the other writers of that age, who mention the discovery of them, concur."

His lordship here very incorrectly cites what occurred, in several particulars, as it is scarcely necessary to remark. Giraldus does not say that he was present at the discovery. He was not at Glastonbury till about fourteen years after that time; nor wrote his account till many years after that, as we may notice presently. It is very true he gives an extravagant description of the bones, for which we cannot so well assign a reason. We must here admit that he was either imposed upon, or else gives an untrue account of them.

It is thus left even to those of this comparatively late age, after such numerous histories have either contemptuously noticed the subject, or passed it over altogether, to show that it is not without its due basis of evidence.

To begin, then, with properly abbey authorities, that is to say, with those connected with it. There are the two called the *Magna Tabula Glastoniensis* and the *Parvus Liber*; the latter of which is in the Bodleian, and appears to be marked No. 2538 in Bernard's *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of England and Ireland*, fol. 1697, p. 133. According to Usher, who mentions them both together in his *Primordia*, p. 61, their contents as to this event are the same, namely,

much agreeing with the account in the *Liber Distinctionum* of Giraldus; and one of them, referring to the time of the discovery, six hundred and twenty-eight years after the death of the king, which we have shown at a preceding page, is mainly conducive in supplying us the true date. Again, there are the *Antiquitates Glastonienses*, the original manuscript of which is in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, being p. 96, art. 37 of Bernard's *Catalogue*. Another copy is in the British Museum, *Cottonian MSS.*, Tiberius, A. v. The work is printed by Gale in his *Quindecim Scriptores*, vol. iii, fol. 1697, and more fully by Hearne, in 8vo., 1709. A very good account of it is given in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, fol., 1691, vol. i. p. xxxviii. See also the *Cottonian Catalogue*, Tiberius, A. v. The work, it seems, was originally carried down to the year 1400, but is now only perfect to 1334. The anonymous continuator and editor of the later copy informs us that William of Malmesbury was the author of the first part, down to the year 1126; and that he retained his words, which Wharton says he verified by comparison of copies of that portion still extant. From 1126 to 1190, he tells us, it is the work of Adam de Domerham; and from that to the conclusion, his own.

Next to the above, though perhaps they may be of superior importance, come the two works of Giraldus, which, as they may be considered to supply some good evidence relative to the reality of his existence, we may accordingly notice in due order.

1. His *Liber Distinctionum*, or, literally speaking, Book of Chapters; for he either gave it no other title, or at any rate it has no other. This, on examination, may be deemed the best authority of the two, as giving the most consistent account on the whole, omitting extravagances; and probably being written nearest, in point of time, to the events described. There is only one original copy of this work extant, which is in the Cottonian Library in the British Museum. It is hitherto unprinted, and all the first parts are much damaged by fire. Its library mark is *Tiberius*, B. XIII. Sir John Pryse, in his *Historiæ Britannicæ Defensio*, 4to., 1573, pp. 130-133, has printed the part relating to our present subject; as also Usher, in his *Primordia*, p. 64, has inserted a paragraph or two. This *Liber Dis-*

inctionum, together with the *Parvus Liber* of the abbey, according to the extracts given of it by Usher in his *Primordia*, and the *Antiquitates Glastonienses*, have been the authorities chiefly followed in the foregoing pages.

2. The *Institutio Principis*, or, as it is otherwise called, the *Instructio Principis*, i.e., the Instruction of a Prince, was written at the period of the barons' wars, in the reign of King John, in the interest of Louis of France, and consequently with a strong political bias. Giraldus thus, at an advanced period of his life, introduced the account of his exhumation twice, having apparently never before made any notes or memoranda of the transaction, which had occurred so long before. We have, indeed, the series of events and order of time thus. The exhumation was made in the year 1170. Giraldus visits the convent about the year 1184. After this he is engaged in the turmoils of life for many years; and about the year 1206, as we judge, writing a volume of church anecdotes, this instance of Arthur occurred to his mind, and he introduces it. Still later, about the year 1216, having become a fierce political partizan, and supporting a pretender out of the kingdom, sensible of his influence as an author, he writes a volume in his interest, and again introduces Arthur and his exhumation as an apt illustration. It will be seen that his first account was not written till thirty-six years after the transaction; and his second, forty-six, according to the dates we have submitted. In his first account his lapses of memory were so great, that he not only forgot the name of the abbot under whom the discovery was made, but confused him with the second abbot, who was at the convent at the time of his visit, about fourteen or fifteen years after. Also he confuses, in this account, the sarcophagus with two divisions, made afterwards to enclose honourably his remains and those of his queen, with that in which he was dug up. In the second account, his lapses of memory are still more noticeable; and he reiterates his main facts, and supplies some others, but adds nothing in correction of former misstatements. There is one favourable circumstance, however, in the transmission of the account, that, great as the reputation of Giraldus was as a writer, his narratives either appear not to have been seen, or any rate not to have been followed, by the compiler of the *Antiqui-*

tates Glastonienses; by which means we have an independent account from that source.

Besides the above, this disinterment is mentioned by various chroniclers and medieval writers who have not been alluded to in the preceding pages; but Giraldus, Leland, and the Abbey sources themselves, seem alone likely to afford original information.

There seems only one manuscript of the *Institutio Principis* which is at all known, being the one in the Cottonian Library, marked *Julius*, B. XIII. This manuscript has been printed in Dom. Bouquet's *Gaulish Historians*, fol. 1822, vol. xviii, pp. 121-163; but the part relative to our purpose is there entirely omitted, and much besides of the original. It has again been printed, in a more perfect form, by the Anglia Christiana Society; 8vo., 1846. In addition to this, Ritson, in his *Life of Arthur*, has given a translation in full of the part relating to that king, though extremely incorrect (pp. 98-105).

A few remarks cannot but suggest themselves on these two works of Giraldus. They both show evident lapses of memory, and give a somewhat contradictory and careless account; but, on the other hand, are valuable testimonies, as exhibiting not the slightest wish either to disguise the truth, or to advance a falsehood. Giraldus, when he wrote his second account, seems to have forgotten what was in his first, there being, apparently at least, the ten years interval between them, of which we have spoken. The *Liber Distinctionum* seems to have been in the nature of a volume of anecdotes,—a species of Giraldiana, with a bearing to uphold the interests of the church of the day. His motive in introducing the account of Arthur, and the moral he would derive therefrom, is to show that the honour due to his remains, as one of the reputed founders of Glastonbury abbey, though so long deferred, was rendered at last. His motive in the *Institutio Principis* was to exhibit Arthur as a model of a ruler,—great and victorious, devout and pious, and a benefactor to the church.

It would be scarcely right were we not to subjoin the full account of the disinterment as in chapters 8, 9, and 10 of the *Liber Distinctionum* of Giraldus, before mentioned, for the satisfaction of those who may wish to see the most authentic original account, accompanying it also with an

English translation. It is necessary to premise that the unique original manuscript, before spoken of, in the British Museum, marked *Tiberius*, B. XIII., being in places much injured by fire, the defective parts have been supplied from Sir John Pryse's *Defensio Historiæ Britannicæ*, 4to., 1573, pp. 130-133, and are printed in italics. At other times, some few broken portions of sentences being wholly illegible in the original, and being not given by Sir John Pryse, have been supplied according to the sense of the context, and are placed between brackets.

C. VIII. (Rubrical heading gone.) *Regnante nostris in Angliâ diebus Henrico Secundo contigit ut apud Glastoniense Cœnobium quondam nobile sepulchrum Arthuri regis Britannicæ, dicto rege monente et abbate ejusdem loci Henrico, qui ad cathedram Wigornicæ translatus postea fuit, procurante diligenter quæsitum in cœmeterio sacro a sancto Dunstano dedicato inter duas pyramides altas, et literatas in Arthuri memoriam, olim erectas multis laboribus effoderetur; et corpus ejusdem in pulverem et ossa redactum ab imis ad auram et statum digniorem transferreretur. Inventa fuit in eodem sepulchro trica muliebris, flava et formosa, miroque artificio conserta et contricata; uxoris scilicet Arthuri viro ibidem consepulta.*

Vinum (verum) ut in ipsam inter astantes plurimos (oculos affixit quidam monachus, cupidus, et ut insulssissime simul) et inverecundissime tricam illam præ ceteris cunctis arripere posset, in imam fosse (fossam) se præcipitem dedit: (s)icut quod prænotatus antea (so) monachus baratri figuram non saturandi non minùs impudens quam imprudens protervusque spectator et profundus intravit. At licet capilli imputribiles esse dicantur quia nichil in (se) corpulentum, nichil humidum habe(a)nt admixtum, tamen simul ut erectam et diligenter inspectam manu tenuit multis intuentibus et obstupentibus in pulverem illico decidet minutissimum, et tanquam in athomos sicut dividi sic et discerni nescias subito conversa disparuit et eventu mirabili ne (sapientis dicta abnegentur) namque (omnia humana) figuravit esse caduca: et mundariam pulchritudinem omnem varios oculos ad intuendum seu perpetrandum illicita perstringendum esse momentaneum et vanitati obnoxium. Quùm ut ait Philosophus formæ nitor vapidus est et velox, vernalium florum mutabilitate fugacior.

C. IX. (*Rubrical heading gone.*) DE SEPULCHRO REGIS ARTHURI OSSA EJUS CONTINENTE APUD GLASTONIAM NOSTRIS DIEBUS INVENTO, ET PLURIMIS CIRCITER HÆC NOTABILIBUS OCCASIONALITER ADJUNCTIS. Porro quoniam de rege Arthuro et ejus exitio dubio multa referri solent, et fabulæ confingi a Britonum populis ipsum adhuc vivere fatuè contendentibus, ut fabulosis ex(s)ufflatis et veris et certis asseveratis, veritas ipsa de cætero circa hæc liquido pateat, quædam hic adjicere curavimus indubitata veritate comperta.

Post bellum de Kemelen apud Cornubiam, interfecto ibidem Modredo proditore nequissimo et regni Britannicæ custodiæ suæ deputati contra avunculum suum Arthurum occupatore ipsoque Arthuro ibi læthaliter vulnerato corpus ejusdem in insulam Avalloniam quæ nunc Glastonia dicitur a nobili matronâ ejusdem cognatâ et Morgani vocatâ est delatum, quod postea defunctum in cœmeterio sacro eâdem procurante sepultum fuit. Propter hoc enim fabulosi Britones et eorum cantores fingere solebant quod dea quædam fantastica scilicet Morganis dicta corpus Arthuri detulit in insulam Avaloniam ad ejus vulnera sanandum, quæ cum sanata fuerint redibit rex fortis et potens ad Britones regendum ut ducunt sicut solet propter quod ipsum expectant adhuc venturum sicut Iudæi Messiam suum majori fatuitate et infelicitate et infidelitate decepti.

Notandum hic autem quod Glasconia dicta est insula quoniam marisco profundo undique est clausa, quæ mediamnis proprie diceretur quasi mediis scilicet amnibus sita, sicut melius insulæ dicuntur quæ in salo, hoc est in mari sitæ noscuntur. Avalonia vero dicta est ab aval Britannico verbo quod pomum sonat, quia solet locus pomis et pomeriis abundare: vel ab Avallone territorii illius quondam dominatore. Item solet antiquitus locus ille Britannicè dici Ynys Gutrin, hoc est insula vitrea propter amnem scilicet quasi vitrei coloris in marisco circumfluentem: et ob hoc dicta est postmodum a Saxonibus terram occupantibus in linguâ eorum Glastonia. Glas autem Anglicè vel Saxonice vitrum sonat. Patet ex hiis (so) igitur quare insula, et quare Avallonia et quare Glastonia dicta; patet ex hoc quoque quo pacto dea fantastica Morganis a fabulatoribus nuncupata.

Notandum hic etiam quod licet abbas prænominatus

aliquam habuerit ad corpus Arthuri quærendum ex scriptis antiquis et chronicis notitiam, nonnullam quoque ex literis pyramidum inscriptis quamquam antiquitatis et ferè omninò vetustate deletis, maximam (tamèn) habuit per dictum regem Henricum ad hæc evidentiam. Dixerat enim ei pluries sicut ex gestis Britonum et eorum cantoribus historicis rex audierat quod inter pyramides quæ postmodum erectæ fuerant in sacro cœmeterio sepultus fuit rex Arthurus valde profunde propter metum Saxonum quos ipse sæpe expugnaverat et ab insulâ Britannicâ prorsus eiecerat, et quos Modredus nepos ejus pessimus contra ipsum post revocaverat, ne in mortuum etiam vindicis animi vitio desævirent, qui totam jam insulam post mortem ipsius iterum occupare contenderant. Propter eundem etiam metum in lapidem quodam lato tanquam ad sepulchrum a fodientibus invento quasi pedibus septem sub terra, quùm tamen sepulchrum Arthuri novem pedibus inferius inventum fuerit reperta fuerit crux plumbea non superiori sed potius inferiori parte lapidis inserta literas has inscriptas habens.

HIC JACET SEPULTUS INCLITUS REX ARTHURUS IN INSULA AVALLONIA CUM WENNEUEREIA UXORE SUA SECUNDA.

Crucem autem hanc extractam a lapide dicto abbate Henrico ostendente perspeximus et literas has perlegimus. Sicut autem crux inferiùs lapidi inserta fecit sic et crucis ejusdem pars literata ut occultior esset versus lapidem versa fuit: mirâ quidem industriâ et hominum tempestatis illius exquisitâ prudentiâ qui corpus viri tanti dominique sui perpetuique loci illius patroni ratione turbationis instantis totis viribus tunc occultare volebant, et tum ut aliquo in posterum tempore tribulationis cessante per literarum saltem cruci insertarum et quandoque repertarum indicia propalari possit procurarunt.

C. x. (Rubrical heading.) QUOD REX ARTHURUS PRÆCIPUUS GLASTONI — — — *Sicut dictus itaque rex totum abbati prædixerat sic Arthuri corpus inventum fuit; non in sepulchro marmoreo ut regem decebat eximium, non in saxeo aut Pariis lapidibus exsecto, sed potius in ligneo ex quercu ad hoc cavato et sexdecim pedibus aut pluribus in terra profundo propter festinam potius quam festivam tanti principis humationem, tempore nimirum turbationis urgentis id exigente.*

Dictus autem Abbas corpore reperto monitisque regis

Henrici marmoreum sepulchrum fieri fecit ei egregium tanquam patrono illius loci præcipuo qui scilicet ecclesiam illam præ cæteris regni cunctis plus dilexerat terrisque largis et amplis locupletaverat. Ideòque non immerito sed justo quoque Dei judicio cui bona procul dubio cuncta non solum in cœlis verumetiam in terris sive in vitâ seu post mortem *plerumque remunerat, in cœnobiâ demum ecclesiâ antiquâ præ cæteris regni totius et authenticâ corpus Arthuri egregiè sepultum fuit et glorificè sicut debuit et tantum virum decuit collocatum.* The translation will be as follows.

C. VIII. (Heading gone.) It happened a long time ago, though within the limits of our own times, whilst Henry the Second was on the throne, that the notable tomb of Arthur, king of Britain, was dug up in the hallowed cemetery of St. Dunstan's, belonging to Glastonbury abbey. It was searched for diligently at that spot, by Henry the abbot, afterwards Bishop of Worcester, at the suggestion of the king, and was found between two high obelisks, on which were inscriptions, and which had been originally erected to the memory of Arthur. His body, when discovered, was dissolved into dust and bones, and was removed into the upper air, and into a more honourable state. Some woman's hair was found in the same sepulchre, of a yellow colour, and beautifully plaited and woven. It was the hair, in fact, of the wife of Arthur, who had been buried in the same place with her husband.

There was a certain monk who stood among the crowd which was gathered round, who, having fixed his eyes on the said tresses, and not being contented with satisfying his curiosity as a spectator, rushed down to the bottom of the excavation to secure them. He was, in fact, like a glutton, greedy to seize his morsel. But though hair may be considered an imperishable substance, as containing nothing within itself humid or corporeal, yet, as he raised the tresses up in his hand, and began diligently to examine them, they, in the sight of all present, fell to pieces into the minutest dust, and disappeared. Thus the wise man's saying was fulfilled, that all human things are perishable, and that all worldly beauty, however it may delight the eye, and even excite to evil, is transitory, and nothing but vanity. "How," as says the wise man,

"beauty of form is like a vapour! and flits away more rapidly than the bloom of vernal flowers!"

C. IX. CONCERNING THE SEPULCHRE OF KING ARTHUR, CONTAINING HIS BONES, FOUND AT GLASTONBURY IN OUR TIMES; AND SOME INCIDENTAL PARTICULARS CONNECTED THEREWITH.

Moreover, as many doubtful things are accustomed to be said concerning King Arthur, and fables to be feigned by the Britons that he still lives, which are affirmed as realities; so to show the truth of the matter, we will insert here a few details which are indubitable.

After the battle of Kemelen, in Cornwall, where Modred was killed, that most wicked traitor and usurper, who had seized the kingdom of Britain, entrusted to his charge by his own uncle, Arthur himself, being mortally wounded, was conveyed by Morgagnis, a noble matron, his relation, to the island of Avallonia, now called Glastonbury; and, after his death, was buried by her in the hallowed cemetery at the same place. On account of this, the untruthful Britons and their bards were accustomed to feign that a certain fantastic divinity, called Morganis, had taken away the body of Arthur into the isle of Avalonia, to heal his wounds, and that the brave and potent king will return, after they shall have been healed, to govern the Britons again: for so they think. Thus they expect him yet to come, as the Jews, with a still greater fatuity, unhappiness and infidelity, do the Messiah.

Here it may be noted, that the island is called "Glastonia" because it is surrounded and shut in on every side by a deep marsh, so that it might properly be called a mid-stream island, as are many of the islets of the (estuaries of the) sea. It is called "Avalonia" from the word *Aval*,—in the British language an apple,—because it abounds with apples and apple orchards; or, perhaps, from some person called Avallon, a former lord of the soil. The place used likewise to be called in the British language "Ynys Gutrin," that is, *Glassy Island*, from the stream flowing round it in the marsh being of a glassy colour; and so the Saxons, when they came, called it, in their language, "Glastonia:" Glas in English or Saxon means glass. Thus you have it why the island is called Avallonia, and why it is called Glastonia; and you know

now why Morganis is called a fairy (*dea fantastica*) by writers of romances.

It is also to be observed, that though the aforesaid abbot had some knowledge where the body of Arthur could be found, from chronicles and ancient writings, and some indication from the letters on the pyramids, though almost entirely obliterated, owing to their great antiquity, yet he had still stronger evidence to this effect from King Henry, mentioned before. For he had said to him many times, as he had been informed from the histories (*gestis*) of the Britons, and had heard from their historical bards, that king Arthur was buried in the hallowed cemetery, between the two obelisks, which had been afterwards erected; but that his body lay there, very deeply deposited, from fear of the Saxons, whom he had frequently routed in his life time, and indeed driven entirely out of Britain (*qu?*), but whom Modred, the worst of villains, had recalled, to assist him in his contest with his uncle. He had thus been buried deep, that in their struggle to repossess the island, they might not vent their rage against him when dead. With the same idea, a broad slab, as if intended for a sepulchre, was placed seven feet under ground, and was found at that depth by the diggers, while the sarcophagus of Arthur was found nine feet lower down. There was a leaden cross discovered, attached to the slab—not to the uppermost side, but to that underneath; and on it was this inscription:

HIC JACET SEPULTUS INCLITUS REX ARTHURIUS IN INSULA
AVUALLONIA CUM WENNEUEREIA UXORE SUA SECUNDA.

Now we saw ourselves this cross, which had been fixed to the slab, and read the incscription, the said abbot Henry showing it to us. Here it must likewise be noted, that like as the cross had been let in to the lower side of the slab, so the inscription was inserted on it, the lettered side towards the slab, and not outwards, in order that it might be the more concealed. Thus might be seen the exquisite forethought and contrivance of the men of those times, who, seeing that he was so great a man, and regarding him as their lord, and the perpetual patron of the place, wished to conceal his remains, on account of the troubles which then prevailed, and yet so provided, that at some future time, when tranquillity should be restored, his place

of sepulture should become known by the inscription on the cross.

C. X. HOW KING ARTHUR WAS A GREAT (BENEFACITOR) TO GLASTONBURY (MONASTERY) AND — — — — Thus then, as the king had told the abbot beforehand, was the body of Arthur discovered; not in a marble sepulchre, as became so famous a king; not in a stone sepulchre, or in one of Parian marble; but rather in a wooden one, hollowed out for the purpose, from the trunk of an oak tree. Buried he was sixteen feet deep, or more, not out of ceremony, but rather out of haste, to conceal his remains more effectually in those unquiet times.

When the body had been recovered, the said abbot, at the suggestion of the king, caused a splendid marble tomb to be constructed, regarding him as the chief patron of the place, who had attended to that church more than to any other of his realm, and had enriched it much with lands and possessions. Thus, by the just dispensation of God, who usually repays good by good in this life or the next, the body of Arthur found its rest in a conventual church, one of the most ancient and celebrated in the kingdom; and his remains were magnificently buried, in a manner which became so great a man, and in a manner to which he was fairly entitled.

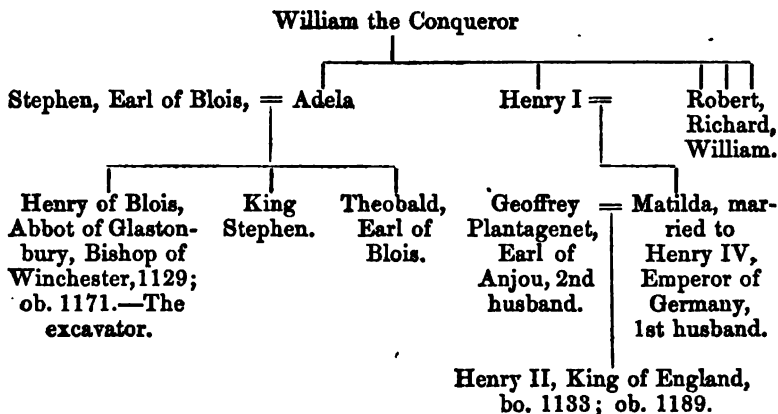
OTHER SEPULCHRAL MONUMENTS OF THE KINGS OF DUMNONIA.

Though this family may have wanted historians to record their acts more in detail than they have come down to us, yet it seems their sepulchral memorials have been better preserved than those of the other ancient British kings. That described by Giraldus of Arthur is an instance; and in regard to Constantine the Third, the son of Cadur, his relation and successor, called also Cunomor, the sepulchral cross of his son still remains, near Fowey, inscribed *SIRVSIVS H(1)C IACET I CVNOWOR FILIVS*, and is engraved in vol. ii. of the *Archæological Journal* for 1846, p. 388. The tumulus of Gerennius, another son of Constantine the Third, likewise remains, who has been mentioned in our pages, 170-172; and the following newspaper paragraph records the opening of it.

“INTERESTING DISCOVERIES.—During the past week excavations have been made in the gigantic tumulus at Veryan Beacon, in Cornwall. Great expectations were entertained by the people in the neighbourhood that ‘the golden boat and silver oars’ which tradition relates to have been buried there with King Gerennius would have been discovered. Although not successful in this respect, the explorers found, under the central cavity of stones, a ‘Kist vaen,’ or chest of unhewn rocks, about four feet six inches in length, two feet in breadth, and two feet six inches in depth, which, no doubt, contained the ashes of the ancient Cornish king. Other discoveries of interest were also made. Had a sepulchral urn been found, it was intended to inter the ashes in Gerrans church, near which “King Gerrans” is said to have lived and died; but, as the ashes were mixed with charcoal, earth, and stones, and what appeared to be the dust of rotten wood, it was determined to leave the grave in the same state as it was found, and it will now be restored to its original height and appearance.”—*Evening Mail*, 23rd November, 1855.

LINEAGE OF HENRY OF BLOIS,

ABBOT OF GLASTONBURY.



N.B. The abbey of Glastonbury was burnt in the year 1184; subsequent to which time Henry de Sully became Abbot of Glastonbury, and Bishop of Worcester, 1193; and died, 1195. He is mentioned by Giraldus Cambrensis.

CONCLUSION.

We have thus gone through the most tangible points of our subject; and we may appeal to the result, which is, that though we may have lost direct histories and biographies relating to Arthur, yet, collaterally, we have a great deal of evidence, as well direct, as by way of induction, of the reality both of his existence, and of a great portion of the history, as usually given, of his life and actions. There is but little doubt that, from this prince having adopted the Christian cause, and so losing the commemoration of the bards, his great deeds became the less celebrated; but we may therefore, with the greater good will, endeavour to supply the deficiency. We do not take the merit of saying that the actuality of his existence is now for the first time shown, since the preponderancy of the opinions of historical writers was before in his favour. Witness Sharon Turner, Lingard, and others. Indeed, but few historical writers will now be bold enough to say that there was no such person. Scepticism, in our days, with regard to this ancient British king, exists not so much in literature as in common parlance, arising apparently from his name being frequently introduced in ballads and in works of imagination. The writers professing to maintain his nonentity, with the exception of Mr. Herbert, and perhaps some others, are those that are led away by the common error, and do not examine evidences on the point; and Mr. Herbert himself was biassed by the misunderstanding of certain passages in Welsh poetry. The subject has been taken up anew in these pages; and, from an increased knowledge of ancient British history, what was not so evident before, is become more evident, and all former proofs are become more established. If the history of this prince be probable in its main features, it ought not to be discarded; if it be true, it ought to be unreservedly received, and all unfounded prejudices should be dismissed.

We should, perhaps, recapitulate here a few of the historical evidences of his existence, and of his acts, which we may accordingly briefly enumerate:

1. He is mentioned in *Nennius* as the generalissimo of the Britons, and his twelve battles are specified; and his

being the son of Uther Pendragon is recorded in one copy. 2. His existence is also implied in two passages of the *History* of Gildas, c. 32 and c. 33, and a sufficient reason is given why that writer was disinclined to make much mention of him. 3. The *Saxon Chronicle* records no battles with the Britons during the time (about nine years) in which, according to *Tysilio*, peace had been concluded with them, and during which they are said to have acknowledged him as Pendragon, and consented to hold under him in homage. 4. Many of his commanders and chiefs mentioned, as Caradoc Vreichvras, and others, are known to have been real, existing personages of the time in which the British sovereign is said to have flourished. 5. The limits of the Saxon territorial acquirements and conquests, at the time of his ultimate peace with them, are well known: as, for instance, Kent, Sussex, Surrey, East Anglia, Northumberland and Durham, etc.; and when his great festival, on his return from Gaul, is described in *Tysilio*, no guests are represented as arriving from any parts or places which are known then to have been possessed by the Saxons. 6. Johannes Magnus, a Swedish historian of credit, of the sixteenth century, speaks positively of an expedition of this king to the North Seas, and narrates the circumstances which led to it. *Tysilio* also relates an expedition of Arthur to the North Seas, though varying the details of it so much as to show he had never seen the account of it by Johannes Magnus. 7. The British king, again, is described in *Tysilio's Chronicle* as going over to Armorica and Gaul, to take a part in the wars there; and it is known with certainty, from the history of that country, and otherwise, that there were wars going on between the Franks and Burgundians at that period, being the early days of the Merovingian dynasty. 8. Arthur's opponents in Gaul are called, in *Tysilio*, p. 170, Burgundians, which shows that he espoused the cause of the Franks, who were the ultimate conquerors in those wars. 9. *Triad* 21 says that Medrawd revolted against Arthur as he was marching on an expedition against Rome; and it is a well established and authenticated fact in history, that the Franks, with whom he was associated, did invade Italy in the year 538. 10. It is not at all to be believed that Britain was without a Pendragon from

the year 517 to 542; about fifteen years of which time would appear to have been passed in active hostility. 11. There is no other person asserted to have been in that office, except Arthur, during that period. And 12. The existence of our insular monarch is mentioned collaterally in the *Life of Gildas* by Caradoc of Lancarvan, in the *Poems* of Taliesin, and those of Merddin Wyllt, and in the *Lives* and *Legends* of various saints, as recorded in the ancient manuscript marked VESPASIAN, A. XIV., in the Cottonian Library in the British Museum; as also in the *Armorican Chronicle* of Mont St. Michel, and in the *Caledonian Chronicles*.

We have been duly sensible, while discussing the subject of this ancient Celtic king, that there is frequently obloquy incurred in asserting truths of a certain class, and that there is often difficulty in finding favour for particular topics. But whether favoured or disfavoured, or whether obloquy be incurred or not, the only object in the foregoing remarks has been the endeavour to ascertain what is the truth, and, when ascertained, to support it.

BALE ARZUR, OR ARTHUR'S MARCH.

We may add the following lines, in the Armorican dialect, with their translation, connected as they are, according to their title, with the ancient British king of whom we have treated in the foregoing pages. They are a war song, and come to us with no other introduction than that they exist among the compositions of the ballad class in Britany. As we here give them, the five first lines are omitted, comprising merely the repetition of the word "deomp", come, fourteen times, and a summons to fathers, sons, and relations, and all men of courage, to the war:

Mab ar c'hadour a lavare
Lavare d'he dad : eur beure,
Marc hegerien war lein ar bre !

Marc hegerien o vont e-biou
Mirc'hed adan-he glaz ho liou
Och hinteal gand ar riou !

Stank-ar-stank chouec'h-hachouec'h, e ri ;
Skank-ha-stank e ri tri-ha-tri
Mil goaf oc'h ann heol o lintri.

Stank ha stank e ri daou a daou
 O vont da heul ar banielao
 Hag a vransell glan ann Ankaou.

Nao ban rong aun daou benn anhe ;
 Bagad Arzur e goarann e ;
 Arzur a-rok lein ar mene

— Mar ma Arzur ann hini eo
 Prim d'hor gwarek ha d'hor gwall veo !
 Ha-rok d'he heul ha slimm ra freo !

O ked he c'her losket a-grenn
 Pa drouzkrosas ar iouc' hadenn
 Hed ar menezioù penn-d'ar-benn

Kalon am lagad ! Penn am brec'h !
 Ha laz am blons ha traon ha krec'h !
 Ha tad am map ha mamm am merc'h !

Meirch am kazek, ha mul am as !
 Penn-lu am mael, ha den am goas !
 Goad am daerou ha tan am grouaz !

Ha tri am unan, evit mad !
 Traon ha krec'h noz-de, mar gell pad,
 Ken a redo enn traoniou goad !

Er stourmat treuzet mar kouezomp
 Gand hor goad en em badesfomp
 Ha laouen galon a varfomp.

Mar marvomp evel ma elleet
 D'ar Gristenien d'ar Vretoned,
 Morse na varvimp re abred.

According to the Count de la Villemarqué, from whose *Bareas Breiz*, or Bards of Britany (vol. i. p. 84), we have taken the extract, the above war song has been in use, as such, within the memory of man, in that part of France ; and he acquaints us that, when sung in modern times, the two last stanzas are sung twice ; the three preceding ones, beginning “ Kalon am lagad ” (an heart for an eye, etc.), being but little comprehended. However, he must in reality rather mean that they do not sympathize in the sentiments expressed therein ; because the meaning is so clear that it does not readily admit of doubt. The Count de la Villemarqué believes the lines were taken from an original in the ancient British language ; the words “ bre ”, hill ; “ kad ”, battle ; “ ri ”, number ; “ glan ”, wind, soul, or breath ; “ as ”, ass ; “ mael ”, soldier, or servant ; “ penn-lu ”, military commander ; “ fraoi ” (freo), to be agitated ;

“adan”, below; “rong”, between; and “am”, for,—being not to be found in any Armorican dictionaries, either old or new. We may now give the English:

The warrior's son said to his father one morning: “There are horsemen coming over the hills. Horsemen coming along, mounted on grey steeds sniffing up the cold air. In close ranks, six deep; in close ranks, three deep: a thousand lances glitter in the sun. In close ranks, two deep, following the standards streaming in the breeze of death. Nine slings cast (*i.e.* nine furlongs) it is from their front to their rear. It is the army of Arthur. I know it. Arthur rides at their head, on the top of the hill.”

(Answer.) “If it be Arthur, quick to our bows and to our arrows; and on forward to follow him, and brandish your javelins.”

He had scarcely ceased speaking when the war-cry was heard on the hills, from one end to the other of them. “An heart for an eye! A head for an arm! Death for a wound! In the valley, and on the hill! And a father for a mother, and a mother for a daughter! A horse for a mare, and a mule for an ass! A chieftain for a soldier, and a man for an infant! Blood for tears, and flames for heat! And three for one! This is what shall be done. Like in the valley, so on the hill, day and night, if we can, till the valleys flow with waves of blood. If we fall transfixed in the combat, we shall be baptized with our own blood, and shall die with a joyous heart. If we die as Christian Britons ought to do, we cannot die too soon.”

We may observe of the above war-song, that it is inferior to most modern compositions of the kind, in which the writers usually introduce far nobler feelings, and more patriotism; more self-devotion in fact, from higher motives; whereas the spirit of this savours of partizanship, and is highly selfish and sanguinary. The same are points, however, which are in some degree evidences of its antiquity; for it hardly could have been written in modern times, but must have been indited when clanship and minor subdivisions of kingdoms existed. Like many of our ancient ballads, it seems gradually to have lost its ancient phrase, and to have become modernized in its language, as it has been from time to time copied and re-

copied. We have inserted it here, not only, as has been said, as having reference to Arthur, but also partly historically, as throwing a species of light, though a mournful one, on the extremely ferocious spirit in warfare which prevailed in the earlier part of the Middle Ages.

CHAPTER IV.

STRATHCLYDE AFFAIRS IN THE SIXTH CENTURY; OR THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS OF THE WARS OF ARDERYDD AND GODODIN.

THE BATTLE OF ARDERYDD.

WE may place the two above unfortunate contests together, as the one proved the sure, and, indeed, infallible introduction to the other. The Saxons having been kept in check up to the death of Arthur, in 542, and the Strathclyde Britons preserving their territories entire from sea to sea up to that period, some dissensions took place, partially with the other Britons, and partially among themselves; and a species of levy *en masse* was made, a combat ensued, known as the battle of Arderydd, attended with a frightful and prodigious slaughter, in which, according to the Celtic manner, they settled their differences. The northern Britons could but ill bear the loss; and it proved act the first of the tragedy of the fall of their nation, the battle of Gododin being act the second. With this prelude, we may proceed briefly to treat of these events.

There is but little doubt that the dissensions to which we have alluded were occasioned by contests for the pendragonship of Caledonia. This, it appears, during Arthur's life, had been held by that eminent commander, though certainly he was somewhat disturbed in the exercise of it, as the insurrection of Howel clearly shows. For

nearly the first fifteen years after the death of Arthur, we do not know who possessed it; when all at once, in or about the year 555, Maelgwyn Gwynedd, who was already generalissimo of the Britons in the South, appears in the field in Caledonia to contest it in the North; and his claims to the distinction appear to have been these:

First, he was already Pendragon of the Southern Britons; and consequently was in the position of Arthur Mabuter, the late holder of the dignity; and secondly, he was holder of the southern Cumbria (Cumberland, Lancashire, etc.), which was one in the circle of the Strathclyde kingdoms, and so far gave him a stronger claim than his great predecessor, whom we have mentioned. Besides all this, it appears indubitable that Maelgwyn was a great commander, and accustomed to lead his troops to victory.

It is not possible to give minute particulars of the events which occurred; for there are but a few, brief, cursory mentions of them, or allusions, which have come down to us. In fact, we have no reason to suppose otherwise than that, on Maelgwyn Gwynedd's arrival in Caledonia with an armed force, partially as an enemy, partially as a friend, there was a sudden—nay, almost momentaneous levy and a great battle immediately occurring: when, after a few weeks, all was quiet again, after a most frightful slaughter of the Britons in those parts. There are various references to these transactions in the *Avellenau* of Merddyn Caledonius, in Cynddelw, and elsewhere, mostly very desultory and indefinite; and there is a sketch of them in the *Vita Merlini* of Geoffrey of Monmouth. This poem is historical, but mixed with much romance. Still we appear to have the names of the principal combatants given pretty clearly: namely, on one side, the said Maelgwyn, described by the poetic name of Peredur, king of the Venedoti; and with him, Rodarchus, that is Rhydderch, a Strathclyde king, described as “Rex Cumbrorum”, Cumbria and Strathclyde being the same; and he appears to be the person who was patron of St. Kentigern, and who is mentioned by Nennius, in his c. LXV, in connexion with events occurring a few years afterwards, under the appellation of Rhydderch-Hên. And on the other side was ranged Gwennolaus (Gwendolan ap Ceidiaw), the king who already exercised the functions of Pendragon of Caledonia.

In the result, Maelgwyn Gwynedd prevailed, but only survived about five years; and notwithstanding the prodigious slaughter with which the honour had been acquired, and notwithstanding the popularity of his son and successor, Rhun ap Maelgwyn, it appears clear enough from the poems of Aneurin and Taliesin, that it did not descend to him, but went into other hands.

As for the slaughter on this occasion, we take *Triad* 50 in good faith, which informs us that it was, on both sides, as we may understand, eighty thousand; and considering the martial spirit of the inhabitants of these quarters, and the nature of a Celtic levy *en masse*, this does not appear at all surprising; though, as we have said, the loss could be but ill spared by the Britons in those times.

The locality of this battle is not known; but, guided by the etymology of the name, *Ard-y-rydd*, or "high mountain pass", we gather that it took place in a mountainous district; and hence appears to be the explanation of the species of joke which is made in the said *Triad* 50, that it was fought for a "bird's nest",—that is, as seems to be meant, for an eagle's nest, in allusion to the lofty range of hills on which it took place. And now, as we have referred to the *Vita Merlini*, it will be but right to mention the connexion which the Caledonian Merlin, otherwise Merddyn Wyllt, is related to have had with these transactions.

✓ Merddyn Wyllt, or Merddyn Caledonius, sometimes called Merlin, was the son of Madog Morvryn ap Morydd, ap Ceneu, ap Coel Goedhebaug. He was a poet, and, besides, possessed decided Druidical tenets, and was brother-in-law to the said Gwendolan we have mentioned, who had married his sister Ganiada or Gwenddyd, and was an opponent to the cause of Maelgwyn Gwynedd; and hence it was very natural that he should be so too. Therefore, with his three brothers, he joins the battle array at Arderydd, wearing the golden torque, as he informs us in his poem of the *Avellenau*; which was an ornament in use among the ancient Britons who had pretensions to rank or eminence. He loses his three brothers in the battle; and, according to some accounts, kills his own nephew. His intellects are consequently deranged for some years, during which time he partially lives in the forests, and partially in the society of men, and practises a number of extraordinary freaks

and oddities. During some part of the period, in his calmer moments, he lives at the house of his sister, who endeavours to soothe him under the attacks of his disorder, consults his comfort in every way, and even builds him a house in the forest, where his chief haunts were, for his better abode in the winter, which at times he occupies. His wife, Gwendolena, finding his sylvan habits irreclaimable, wishes to dissolve their union, and to form another match: to which he freely consents, and promises a marriage portion. Accordingly, on the day appointed for the wedding, he collects together a great herd of stags, fallow deer, and goats, and himself comes riding on one of the first mentioned animals to the ceremony. The new husband, when he sees him, cannot forbear bursting out into a violent fit of laughter; incensed at which, he is said to have torn off one of the horns of the stag, and to have thrown it at him and killed him on the spot. Perhaps we should rather understand that he had one of the instruments called a celt (the species of "*missilis securis*", or projectile hatchet, mentioned by Apollinaris Sidonius, as used in those times), concealed among the antlers of the animal, with which he gave the fatal wound by throwing it at him. However, he galloped off on his steed towards his accustomed retreats in the forest, hotly pursued by all the company who had been assembled for the wedding. Unluckily for him, there was a deep river close at hand, which he was obliged to pass; and his poor stag not being able to acquit itself in such a case as well as a horse would have done, he was immersed in the stream and captured. Being brought back, he appears to have been treated kindly, in consideration of his lunatic condition. And this, we find, was nearly his last prank; for becoming now somewhat better, after the interval of some time Taliesin was sent for, by an arrangement between him and his sister, to be a companion to him; and, when arrived, they join in scientific conversation on natural history, astronomy, and other matters, according to the scope afforded to them by the times. And with these colloquies the poem, which comprises between thirteen and fourteen hundred lines, comes to a conclusion.

Merddyn Wyllt, as an author, has left behind him several poems, of which the principal is the one entitled the

Avellenau, or "Apple Orchard". His poetical compositions are remarkable for their strong Druidical and mystical turn. Some attributed to him are of a prophetic nature. We may understand that he died as a poet, for it does not appear that he ever again took a part in war or politics.

It should be added, that, in the course of the poem of the *Vita Merlini*, some events of British history are given, as also various extraneous details. The attentions of his sister, Ganiada, when they were possible to be bestowed, appear in a very amiable light throughout the poem. The versification of this poetical piece is, in places, light and elegant, in other places somewhat clumsy and prosaic. We have remarked before of its having every appearance of being a translation of a prose narrative, though Geoffrey of Monmouth has given Maelgwyn Gwynedd a poetical designation, and slightly altered some of the other names.

We may repeat, that the battle of Arderdydd appears to have had no results which continued beyond Maelgwyn Gwynedd's death in 560, for the Southern Cumbria (Gwenedota) sometimes joined the Strathclyde cause, and sometimes did not. It was, perhaps, rather from a want of political union than from any other reason, that Catgaibal, king of Gwenedota, quitted their army with his men before the battle of Abret Iuden (Carlisle), in the next century (see p. 35 *ante*), by which he obtained the name of Catgaibal Catguommed, or Catgaibal, the "Battle-avoider". Communications, however, continued between Strathclyde and North Wales to the ninth century, and perhaps longer.

THE BATTLE OF GODODIN.

Critical research, so useful in many cases, has not been without its results in gradually illustrating the ancient poem written by Aneurin on this subject, and bearing this title. Many errors have been entertained respecting it, which are now pretty well dispelled. It is asserted in the *Gorchan Cynvelyn*, or "Incantation of Cynvelyn", or Cuno-beline, a composition inserted in vol. i. of the *Myvyrian Archaiology*, that there originally were, or should have been, three hundred and sixty-three stanzas in this poem of Aneurin,—one to the eulogy of each chief engaged in the battle of Gododin. However, it would appear that the

medieval author of that poem wrote without being much acquainted with Aneurin's epic, or, at any rate, without having recently referred to it; for, had he examined it, he would have found that some of the stanzas are solely narrative, while of the rest there are instances of several applying to one and the same individual: as six to Owen, three to Tudvulch-hir, three to Cynddilig of Aeron, two to Cynan, two to Caradoc Vreichvras, besides other examples. No more is therefore required to be said on this head. In regard to other errors which have been entertained: Edward Davies, the eminent Celtic scholar, doubted much of the nature of this poem forty years ago, and was inclined to think it had a covert and indirect meaning, and referred to no historical event in the North; while much more recently, the Honble. Algernon Herbert, a very learned and acute writer, unhesitatingly maintained the same opinion in his *Cyclops Christianus* (published in 1849), and pronounced it to relate, under the veil of mysticism, to Vortigern and Hengist, and to the wars of the Saxons in the South of Britain, which ensued consequent upon their first invasion. It must be owned that a great part of these misconceptions arose from the extreme difficulty of ascertaining the meaning of various parts of it. Just at this period, however, some very unexpected light broke in upon the subject. The Count de la Villemarqué, who is the author of an Armorican dictionary of reputation, and is, not to say merely an eminent, but yet more, a profound Celtic scholar, took it in hand in the ensuing year, 1850. This distinguished literary character had passed many years of his life in translating and publishing such remnants of Armorican literature as could be met with in France: some, indeed, of which were of considerable length. He thus became acquainted with the Celtic idiom more than any one else had previously been; and his success has been, indeed, splendid, in his version of the Gododin. The seemingly crabbed phrases and idioms of the ancient Caledonian bard have been melted down, not only to good and sound sense, but also to well expressed poetical ideas; and frequently the verses, which seemed to have no meaning at all, have been found to be replete with the most striking imagery. Perhaps the reader may say, as has been said, "This might be the translator's own inven-

tion". Not so, exactly; but his success is owing, as before has been suggested, to his rightly apprehending the idiom, to his catching the sense the dialect of the day conveyed, and seizing the idea that flitted through the poet's mind. The Celtic dialect of that era, on examination, appears to have had very little inflexion; and the words, as used in poetry, stood pretty much in an isolated form, as it seemed to moderns at least; and they have generally translated them in an isolated form, and so lost the sense. The words, however, though in the guise of being isolated, had in reality a conventional meaning, and a combination, to express very vividly the ideas of the poet; so that the apparent rudeness of diction of the bard was not actually so, according to the time in which he wrote. This, it may be safely affirmed, is the true state of the case with regard to this very admirable performance of Count de la Ville-marqué. There is no need for assertion, however; let a literal translation of the first twelve lines show it, which we will proceed to give, adding also sufficient means of comparison by subjoining a translation considered of much repute some years since:

Gredyf	gwr	oed	gwas
<i>nature</i>	<i>a man</i>	<i>he was</i>	<i>a youth</i>
Gwrhyt	am	dias	
<i>manly in</i>	<i>battle</i>	<i>(or revenge, or war-cry)</i>	
March	mwth	myng	vras
<i>a horse</i>	<i>swift</i>	<i>mane</i>	<i>thick</i>
Adan	morddwyd	megyr	gwas
<i>under the thigh</i>	<i>fair</i>	<i>youth</i>	
Ysgwyt	ysgafn	llydan	
<i>a shield</i>	<i>light</i>	<i>broad</i>	
Ar	bedrein	mein	buhan
<i>upon the croup</i>	<i>slender,</i>	<i>swift</i>	<i>(i.e. horse)</i>
Cledyvawr	glas	glan	
<i>sword great</i>	<i>blue</i>	<i>handsome</i>	
Ethy	aur	a	tan
<i>spurs</i>	<i>gilt</i>	<i>with fire</i>	<i>(i.e. to glitter)</i>
Ny	bi	ef	a mi
<i>Not shall be</i>	<i>it</i>	<i>with me</i>	
Cas		erof	a thi
<i>anger</i>	<i>(or envy)</i>	<i>for the sake of me</i>	<i>with thee</i>
Gwell	gwneif	(gwnaf)	a thi
<i>better</i>	<i>I will do</i>	<i>with thee</i>	
Ar	mol	(mawl)	dy moli
<i>upon praise</i>	<i>thine</i>	<i>to eulogise.</i>	

Any one who reads the above words of the first twelve

lines of the Gododin, will, at the first view, almost think them words placed at hap-hazard; but the second impression will be, that it is possible that, conventionally, or *per idiom*, various of them might have been combined in phrases which were familiar enough at a former period, and might have had both meaning and force. Most of these idioms have, however, died away, and become unknown to modern times; and not only that, but many of the words themselves have become out of use, so that their meanings are ascertained with some little difficulty; and, indeed, the precise meaning of various words in the poem can only be conjectured by moderns.

Sharon Turner translated this very part about fifty years ago, under the supervision, he tells us in his *Vindication of the Ancient British Poets* (p. 247) of the eminent authority in Celtic literature, Dr. W. Owen Pughe, who was the compiler of a most comprehensive Welsh dictionary, and from his attainments was peculiarly suited to the task. We will then see how far the learning of that day would go in rendering the verses intelligible, the following being the version produced:

Sharon Turner's, or Owen Pughe's Translation.

Gredyv was a youth
 Vigorous in the tumult.
 A swift, thick-maned steed
 Was under the thighs of the fair youth;
 A shield light and broad
 Hung on the slender, swift courser;
 His sword was blue and shining;
 Golden spurs and ermine adorned him.
 It is not for me
 To envy thee.
 I will do nobler to thee:
 In poetry I will praise thee.

Here observe an imaginary person, Gredyv, is introduced; for the whole passage in reality applies to Owen ap Urien. The faulty reading, "aphan", ermine, is introduced, incongruous to war; and the point of the four last lines is entirely lost. In the following translation, by Count Villemarqué, which we here give faithfully in English, it will be seen how happily he has been able, from his Armorican studies, to become aware of the idiom of the author:

Translation by Count Villemarqué.

Though young he possessed the qualities of a man.
(He was) valiant in battle.
A spirited courser with a long mane
Curvetted underneath his thigh.
Quite young he was, and yet already famous.
A shield light and broad
Covered the croup of his swift (charger).
His sword was large, blue, and sparkling ;
His spurs (were) of glittering gold.
(O chief) it is not I that will give thee
(Cause for) dissatisfaction. I will do
My best for thee, for thee,
And to celebrate thy praises.

Count de la Villemarqué is not the only critic who has translated and illustrated the *Gododin*. A very learned and useful translation was published in 1852 by the Rev. John Williams ap Ithel. His version is occasionally even closer to the original than that of Villemarqué ; and his notes, as well as learned, are frequently extremely satisfactory. It would be invidious to make a comparison between two works which are formed on so entirely a different basis, and which indeed properly belong to different stages of the inquiry ; but it is certainly to be regretted that the two authors, who published so near together, had not communicated with each other. At present, neither work is complete singly ; and the reader who is charmed by the elegant dress in which the diction of the Caledonian bard is made to appear by Villemarqué, would wish also that the combined Celtic erudition of the two critics should bear on the subject.

Having given this specimen, there will be less hesitation in admitting that it is a regular, though somewhat rude, epic poem of a certain campaign, or war, which took place between the Britons and Saxons, in which the former lost an important northern province, and some of their most popular commanders. It is chiefly a narrative of one great battle which took place, the battle of *Gododin* ; and the whereabouts, date, and events of that battle will form our present subject.

As to the date of this event, it seems best to coincide with Mr. Williams, as well as the generality of other writers who have touched upon the subject, that it was about the year 570.

It would be wrong not to acknowledge the great aid derived from the labours of G. V. Irving, Esq., in discussing, in the *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, the subject, not only of the locality of the battle itself, but also of the geography of the whole northern parts of Britain. At the same time we have ventured to entertain different opinions on various points. Nor could it, indeed, be scarcely expected that a subject so obscure, and so misunderstood before, could at once be cleared from every difficulty.

There are seventy or eighty, or even ninety stanzas or more to this poem; for some copies make more, and some less, and the stanzas are variously divided in different copies: and for the right understanding of this interesting though certainly somewhat obscure composition, we propose—(1), to give the general argument of the whole subject, assigning the locality of the battle; (2), to give somewhat an analysis of each stanza; (3), to show some proofs of the correct locality; and (4), to afford elucidation to any particular topic connected with this subject which may seem required. In the first place, then, as to the general subject.

The date of this battle being considered, as we have said, to have been 570, there had already elapsed a peace of some years since the war in which the battles of Gwen-Ystrad, Menao, and Argoed-Llwyfain, all celebrated by the ancient British bards, had taken place, and both sides appear to have been contemplating a renewal of hostilities, and each side to have entertained the idea of surprising the opposite party. It seems it was customary for the Northern Britons to hold an annual festival, in the early part of May, at the easternmost station of the Wall of Antoninus, where this military work is terminated by the ocean, or rather by the waters of the estuary of the Forth. In this part there appear to have been games and other festivities going on upon the shore, in the front of the last Roman castellum or fortress, as it was left dry by each retiring tide; while within the fortress itself tables were spread, the provision stores were opened, and mead, ale, and wine, were circulated without stint, and nothing but revelry and regaling was going on. This festival had, of course, some religious purpose in Roman times, though we

are not prepared to say that it had any such in British times. However, we will leave all discussions on that point, and only advert to the fact, that such a custom existed, and to the name of the festival, which is called the "Koelcerth", and is well enough known in Britany.

The narrative implies that the Northern British tribes had been accustomed to meet in great military strength, for the two or three previous years, at the festival of the Koelcerth; which naturally enough had excited the jealousy of the Saxons, as they could thereby make a sudden inroad, come upon them with numerous and well-appointed forces, and take them wholly unprepared. The narrative again implies that, on their doing so again, the Saxons were determined to attack them, and to make war in earnest; which, it appears, had become known to the Britons. It is possible that the suspicions of the Saxons were well founded, and that the Britons would have entered upon some enterprise on this last occasion had their intentions not been anticipated.

We may understand then, that, in the year 570 (the third or fourth year of the peace), the Saxons having learnt that there was to be the usual muster, accordingly communicated with their friends, the Picts, in the North, and instructed them to bring down their forces towards the eastern extremity of the Wall, while they themselves took the field with their whole army, moving in the same direction. All this seems to have been done in due form and order: Domnal Brec, the king, coming down with his Picts from the North, and they moving up from the South. In addition, they sent forth strong divisions of their forces to cut off separate parties of the Britons as they were advancing from Guenedota, or Gwynedd, or other places, to the festival; which, from the relative position of the kingdoms of Deira and Bernicia, they had singular advantage in doing. In fact, the war began with this; for first, with a strong body of their troops, they intercepted a division of three hundred of the Britons coming from the South, with all gaiety, to the festival, and cut them off; and soon afterwards they even intercepted another division of fourteen hundred of Mynyddaug's army, who were advancing with equal gaiety, and either cut them off, or occasioned them a great loss,—for the passage, as it at pre-

sent stands, is not definitely expressed. These must have come from a more northerly direction. However, these were only incidental circumstances; and the whole assemblage of the Britons arrived, at the day appointed, at their place of destination in two armies: the one under Mynyddaug, with Cynan second in command, from Strathclyde Proper and the neighbouring states; the other under Tudvulch-hir, from Eiddin and its adjoining localities. About the same time with them arrived the Saxons on the South side, and the Picts on the North; and the first day of the feast was the first day of the battle. The Britons, however, determined to have their feast out; and having possession of a strong fortress, and, as it seems, of another intrenchment near, they carried on regaling and fighting at the same time: part of their troops carousing within the walls, and part being under arms and fighting without.

This scene goes on the whole of the week, for the festival lasted that time; and the Britons, each time the tide went down, for some days occupied the strand, or a part of it, where the sports were accustomed to be held; which, it would appear, they still affected to carry on during their occasional possession of the spot,—at least as far as regaling went (see stanzas 16 and 19), notwithstanding the warlike proceedings which were transacting. Severe contests accordingly took place on this water-washed arena; and, together with endeavouring to prevent the Britons from issuing out upon this strand, the Saxons and Picts were also making strenuous efforts to demolish the earthen rampart on the north and south sides of the castellum; which, indeed, it would rather appear that, in the first instance, the Britons had themselves obliterated in places, for the readier exit of their horse and foot in the sallies which they made, while, in the beginning, they were fighting on somewhat even terms with the Picts and Saxons. And this may possibly be the allusion intended in an obscure passage of a poem printed by Davies in his *Mythology of the Druids*, page 574, where the two chiefs, Tudvulch and Cyvulch, are mentioned in connexion with Mynyddaug, and are said to have made breaches in fortresses. However this may be, the Britons had some considerable success on the third day, although they then lost Caradoc Vreichvras, a Cambrian chief of note.

But if we see reason to suppose that there was an attempt to carry on the regaling on the strand outside the fortress, much more was revelry prevailing within, without control; and the most distinguished of the British chiefs were in a state of intoxication in the great hall of the fortress, or in the mead or meat stores. Some of these, the poet relates, even the most noted, issued on their horses intoxicated to combat the enemy; and in consequence were killed, being only able to make the most feeble resistance. There was a remonstrance against this revelling, both in the third and sixth days of the feast. The first of these was that of Gwllighed, the Otodinian, mentioned in stanza 28, who, happening to be at Kaltraeth at the time, and seeing not only the public feast going on, but the chieftains making entertainments for each other, denounced vehemently and unreservedly these unseasonable rejoicings. For doing so he is said to have acquired an honourable mention in this war, though it seems he fell towards the conclusion of it, since stanza 60 is a species of monody on his death, as well as recording the deaths of some others. We shall note the second remonstrance, to the same effect, presently.

It is no wonder that, among such scenes of disorder, the efforts of the enemy at last prevailed. The Saxons and Picts, however, suffered most severely. Donald, or Domnal Brec, the king of the Picts, was killed in an attack made on the north side, headed by Owen, on the third day, though the stanzas describing it do not now remain in the poem; and Bun, or Bearnoch, the widow of Ida, who, though of the feminine sex, had too martial a mind to remain at home at her palace of Bebbasburgh, or Bamburgh, but accompanied the expedition as a species of amateur, to encourage her subjects, the Bernicians, in the confusion of one of the attacks on the south side, it appears, was killed. The Saxons and Picts, however, gradually hemmed in the Britons closer and closer within their ramparts; and, after the third day, they do not appear to have been able to draw up any longer on the strand. On that day, or on the morning of the fourth, offers to treat were made with them, through an herald from the enemy, but were at once rejected. After this, the position of the Britons was gradually becoming worse,

notwithstanding their rejection of the terms ; and for the next two days their chief care seems to have been to maintain their ramparts, breaches, and palisade ; which last, according to Roman custom, was probably set on the tops of the ramparts. Nevertheless they made some sallies. On the sixth day they made a general attack on the Picts, but without success ; and on the same day three hundred men, issuing from the fortress on a separate attack, were cut off, and only one man of them returns to it.

The seventh and last day, Owen, one of the most eminent of the British chiefs, and the hero of the poem, descended down the breach, in the battle which began in the first of the morning, at the ramparts, to combat with the enemy. He was accompanied by some of his troops, and by some other chiefs ; but, becoming separated from his supports, was killed. Eidol, renewing the attack on the Saxons, endeavoured to retrieve this disaster, but in vain : whilst Mynyddaug, having posted himself with a strong force of Britons to defend the sea gate, was killed at that point ; as also Tudvulch was, who was stationed at another part (see stanza 13). The Saxons, by their continued efforts, effect an entrance through the gate, breaches, and other places, and the combat continued hand to hand within the ramparts. Cynddilig of Aeron, who appears to be called Mab Ceidiaw, for the same reason that Owen, in stanza 1, is called Mab Meirchion,—that is, as belonging to the tribe,—had, a short time before, overturned the wine-glasses in the great hall of the fortress, at the point of the lance, and stopped the drinking : but now that and some other buildings were on fire, notwithstanding which desperate fighting was maintained there, and several British leaders were killed in it. A general massacre ensued, and it is easy to understand that, hemmed in as the Britons were, it was difficult for any of them to escape. Three did, however : Cynan, the second in command of the forces of Mynyddaug, and two other chiefs, Cadreith, and Cadleu of Cadnant. How many others of the Britons fought their way out with their chiefs, we are not informed, nor under what circumstances they were able to withdraw. The poet's life, we should add, as herald, was spared.

While these things were transacting, another strong division of the Britons held the fort of Adoen, at about a

mile distance. The Saxons, we are informed in one of the supernumerary stanzas of the *Gododin*, had made a breach in the ramparts of this; but we are not told the fate of the fort. However, it is presumable that the vigorous resistance of Kaltraeth enabled the garrison here to escape, or to capitulate; and hither, probably, Cynan and his men were able to retire.

Such was the battle of Gododin, by which the Northern Britons lost their eastern provinces, and which circumscribed their power within a small compass. This was the immediate result, though we find, from stanzas added, that Geraint, or Gerennius, son of Constantine the Third, and king of Dumnonia, arriving with some ships and troops in the Clyde, renewed the war against the Picts in that quarter, which appears to have revived the drooping spirits of the Britons. There is scarcely a doubt that he was the succour by sea, the promise of which was held out to the Britons almost in their last struggles (see stanza 62), and that it was originally arranged that he should arrive at an earlier period.

The leader of the Picts in the above transactions, is called, in some copies, Domnal Brec; in others, Domnal Vrych. The two appendages to the name imply "pictus", or "varius", that is, painted or spotted, and import the same as the more usual historical term, "Pict". The name itself, Donald, is also frequently varied to Domnal, etc., etc. Possibly, in its simplest form, it was originally Dunmael, or Duvn-mael. Owen is also varied in ancient manuscripts, in which the name is mentioned, to Hoian and Hoianu.

Some speculations might be entered into on the locality of the battle of Gododin, from the mention, in various ancient sources, of the death of Domnal Brec; but we consider them utterly valueless, having such decided internal evidence to the point in the poem, to which we shall presently attend.

We shall now give the contents of the stanzas, and the personal and local names, to illustrate this ancient Celtic poem, which, in conjunction with our previous remarks, will bring more fully to our notice the position of the Britons, and the very striking circumstances of their case. They had to check a most powerful enemy; and their

military forces were all raised on the principle of voluntary and unpaid service, by summons from their chiefs: as they had, properly speaking, no standing army, no conscription, no recruiting sergeant, nothing of the kind. The difficulty of raising an army in this way, with an obstinate contest in anticipation, and with but a trifling prospect of booty, or any other advantage, was of course great; and the festival system, a very bad one, appears pretty evidently to have been the expedient adopted at this period. The poem, as we judge, details the singular effects consequent on campaigning on this basis; and we believe it is in vain that we may search for a similar instance in the history of any other nation, or, indeed, of Britain itself, in any other era. Before, however, detailing the stanzas separately, it will be right to state the parties engaged in the war on either side.

BRITONS.

<i>States.</i>	<i>Commanders.</i>
Strathclyde, or Archluyd	Mynyddaug, genl.-in-chief.
	Cynan, second in command.
Eiddin	Tudvulch-hir.
Rheged	Owen.
Novantes	Cynddilig of Aeron (?)
Selgovæ	Cenau
Argoed	Peil (?)

The leader of the Otodini, and those of Lekleiku and Lenn, minor states, are not known.

THE SAXONS.

<i>States.</i>	<i>Commanders.</i>
Bernicians, Deirians, and Loegrians, <i>i.e.</i> the Saxons as settled there, and the British population of those parts, as under their control.	Not mentioned.

The Picts Domnal Brec.

The Saxon commanders, though their names be not known, were probably sons of the Saxon kings of Deira and Bernicia; and it is clear enough that there was no fresh Saxon immigration for this war; but that it was the settlers in Bernicia and Deira of that nation, who had now held territories there for more than a century, who were the prime movers in the hostilities against the Britons.

THE POEM OF ANEURIN,

*Stanzas and subjects.**Contents.*

THE PROEMIUM.

1. Eulogy. An equestrian portrait is supplied of Owen Mab-Urien, the hero of the epic. He is represented with all the freshness and comeliness of youth, and as mounted on his high-mettled, slender, and thick-maned steed, and armed with his shield and claymore (*cledyvaur*). Further, his animation in war is described, and lamentations are poured out for his loss.
2. Eulogy. Eulogy continued on Owen, and description of his deeds in battle.
3. Eulogy. Eulogy continued on Owen, and his martial qualities.
4. Eulogy. Eulogy continued on the same, and description of his bandeau, as king, ornamented with amber.
5. Eulogy. Continued eulogy for the same chief, and allusion to his former conquests over the Deirians and Bernicians.

MARCH OF THE FORCES TO THE SCENE OF ACTION.

6. Narrative. The departure of the warriors for Kaltraeth. One of them, Mab Bodgad, laments the shortness of the peace.
7. Narrative. A column of Britons (this is the first use of this military term), on march for Kaltraeth, are attacked by the enemy.
8. Narrative. The column, comprising 300 men, is cut off: or, otherwise, 300 men of the column are cut off.
9. Eulogy. Eulogy on Mab Cian Gwyngwyn (see *Nennius*, c. 66), apparently the commander on the above occasion, killed by the enemy, —that is, by the Bernicians.
10. Narrative. Another division, of 1,400 strong, forming part of the army of Mynyddaug, are also attacked *en route*, and are either cut off, or sustain much loss.

DESCRIBING THE EVENTS.

*Personal names.**Local names, etc.*

Owen (mab Urien).

Meirchion (tribe).

Madog. (Owen understood.) Gododin (the poem).

(Owen understood.)

Gwynedd-a-gogles (Gwenedota). The army of Gododin.

Mab Eskeran. (Owen understood.)

(Owen understood.)

Deirians and Bernicians.

Mab-Bodgad.

Gododin.

Gododin.

Kaltraeth.

Mab Cian Gwyngwyn.

The Rock of Gwyngwyn.
Kaltraeth. Brenneich (Bernicia).

Mynyddaug.

Kaltraeth.

*Stanzas and subjects.**Contents.*

11. Reflections. Reflections on the above combat.
 12. Eulogy. Reflections continued, and eulogy on
 the above combatants.

THE FIRST DAY OF THE BATTLE OF
 GODODIN. TUESDAY.

13. Eulogy. Eulogy on Tudvulch-hir mab Kylid, a
 chief of Eiddin, and second in command
 of the army, who resisted the Saxons the
 various days of the battle, and was killed
 the seventh, in defending his station at
 the palisade of the fortress.
14. Narrative. Tudvulch-hir and Cyvulch-hir leave
 Eiddin, and, arriving with their men, draw
 up on the strand before the fortress, and
 engage with the enemy, and only retire
 within the ramparts as the tide rose.
15. Narrative. Tudvulch-hir and Cyvulch-hir at night
 drink their mead by torchlight.
16. Eulogy. Eulogy on Tudvulch-hir, whose conduct
 had been prompt throughout, in the war.

THE SECOND DAY. WEDNESDAY.

17. Narrative. Tudvulch-hir issues from the fortress
 of (Cor) Eiddin, or Kaltraeth, and draws
 up his men in the trench, with one wing
 thrown out wide.
18. Narrative. Three columns, under Cynrig, Cynan
 and Cynren, enumerated as five batta-
 lions and 1,400 men, issue out to his aid.
19. Narrative. An engagement ensues. Mab Syvno,
 the son of an astrologer, who would take
 no money for his incantations, performs
 great exploits. The Britons continue mas-
 ters of the strand, but retire again on the
 rising of the tide. The poet, who ap-
 pears to have belonged to the army of
 Mynyddaug, and had probably arrived the
 preceding day, informs us that he took
 this opportunity of viewing the exterior
 of the ramparts.

*Personal names.**Local names, &c.***Mynyddaug.****Kaltraeth.****Kaltraeth.** The army of Gododin.**Tudvulch mab Kilid.****Kaltraeth.** Eiddin (Edinburgh). Saesson (the Saxons).**Kaltraeth.** Treiaour, the tide. Mordei, or Mordae, the strand.**Tudvulch-hir. Cyvulch-hir.**
Goedhebaug.
(Tudvulch understood.)**Kaltraeth.****Kaer,** the fortress.**Brydein** (Britain). Eiddin, *i.e.*
Coreddin, or **Kaltraeth.****(Tudvulch understood).**
Cynrig. Cynan. Cynren of
Aeron.
Mab-Syyno.**Eidin** (Edinburgh). **Vry-**
thon (the Britons). **Aeron.****Mordei,** the strand. **Gwyn-**
edd.

*Stanzas and subjects.**Contents.*

20. Villemarqué; and 20, 21, Williams. Eulogy on the three chiefs who escaped from the battle of Kaltraeth: the two Dogs of war of Aeron, and Cynan.
21. V. 22. W. Narrative. All this while the poet's friend, Owen, had not quitted the porticos of the fortress, where libations of mead were circulating.

THE THIRD DAY. THURSDAY.

22. V. 23, 24. W. to l. 9. Imprecation, or incantation, against the Loegrians, who had joined the Saxons, and against Domnal Brec, king of the Picts, whose death is alluded to. He was killed in a combat this day by Owen or his troops; though the part describing the event is omitted in all the present copies of the poem.
23. V. 24, fr. l. 10 and 25, W. Eulogy. The death of Budvan mab-Bleidvan alluded to, and eulogy on his deeds. It is to be presumed that he had been likewise killed on this or the preceding day. Eulogy also on Gwenaboui mab-Gwenn.
24. V. 26 & 27, W. Mythological description. Description of the mythological beings, Marchlieu and Lemenik, who are feigned to have animated the combatants.
25. V. 28-9. W. Eulogy. Eulogy on Caredig, bard and warrior, who, being stationed in the trench, defended his position there till he was killed.
26. V. 30. W. Eulogy. Eulogy on Caradoc Vreichvras, killed at the breach of the rampart.
27. V. 31. W. Eulogy. Eulogy on eleven chiefs of the army of Mynyddaug, who had made large potations of mead; to which cause their deaths are attributed in the poem.
28. V. 32. W. Narrative partly. Lamentation of the drinking excesses which occasioned the disasters of the battle of Gododin. Gwllighed (an Otodinian

Personal names.

Local names, etc.

Cynan, and the Dogs of war Kaltraeth. Aeron.
of Aeron.

The White Dragon, or the Saxons. Gododin (the poem.)

Mab Hoegwi (Domnal Brec.) Loegrians.

Budvan mab-Bleidvan. Prydein (Britain). Kaltra-
Gwenaboui mab-Gwenn. eth.

Marchlieu, a mythological personage; and Lemenik, the same. Mab-Gwyddnew.
Caredig.

Caradoc (Vreichvras). Owen Kaltraeth. Breach of the
mab-Eulad. Gwrien. Gw- rampart.
riad and Gwenn.

Mynyddaug. Caradoc. Madoc. Peil. Iewan. Gwgan. Gwion. Gwenn. Cynvan. Peredur. Gwaourdur, and Aedan.

Mynyddaug. Gwllghed. Gododin. Kaltraeth.

*Stanzas and subjects.**Contents.*

- prince ?) remonstrates publicly and vehemently against the unseasonableness of these festivities given by Mynyddaug ; and he is recorded as deserving an honourable mention in the war for doing so.
29. V. 33. W. Eulogy. Eulogy on Rhuvon-hir, who had given gold to the altar, and also who had been liberal to the bards. He is described as coming to Kaltraeth, with his followers, well armed and appointed ; and at their head he attacked five battalions of the enemy, and broke their line.
30. V. 34. W. Eulogy and narrative. Description of the "red brick" Basilica, or Prætorium, the banqueting hall of the fortress, styled the "Newadd" by the poet. Mention of Morien and of Cynan, who did not retire from the fight (on the Mordae) till the tide had covered those who had been slain.
31. V. 35. W. Eulogy and narrative. Mention again of the Basilica, or Prætorium ; and eulogy on Morien, a chief from Powis, and serving in the army of Mynyddaug, who rallied the Britons when they had given way.
32. V. 36. W. Eulogy and narrative. Mention again of the Basilica, or Prætorium. Cynan, having his throne or seat of honour there (among the chiefs), leaves it, and sallies from the fortress (on the north side), and makes a slaughter of the enemy on the outside border of the Green Trench.
33. V. 37-39. W. Eulogy and narrative. The conduct of Cynan in this battle described again, though he is represented as disordered by the potations of the feast. He is extolled as if obtaining a success which had been procured by magical enchantment ; and is called, in respect to his firmness, an "embattled wall" ; at another time, in respect to his irresistible advance, an "eithin", or heath on fire. At this juncture a herald from the enemy,

*Personal names.**Local names, etc.*

Rhuvon-hir.

Kaltraeth.

Morien. Cynan. Mab-Pei-
than.The Prætorium, or Basilica
(Newadd).Morien. Caradoc. Mab-Pe-
droc (Bedwer). Mynydd-
daug.The Prætorium, Basilica, or
Banqueting hall (New-
add). The Otodini.

Cynan.

The Prætorium (Newadd).
The "green" Trench of
the fortress, *i.e.* the outside
trench, or the Ghrimes
Dyke.Elphin (Urien Rheged's son).
The Boar, figuratively the
Saxon herald.Archluyd, or Strathclyde.
The rampart.

*Stanzas and subjects.**Contents.*

mounted on his steed, presents himself with propositions for a treaty, which are rejected by the Britons by acclamation ; and the poet details the war-cries of the Britons on this occasion.

34. V.40. W.
Incanta-
tion.

Incantation for the success of Morien and the Britons ; and imprecations against Bun, or Bearnoch, queen of Bernicia, called a traitress, because she was a Briton by birth.

THE FOURTH DAY. FRIDAY.

35. V.41-2, to
l. 4. W.
Narrative.

The fighting continues. The Loegrians storm some of the outer trenches (on the south side). A Loegrian chief is killed on the occasion, who had, on a standard, the fore-quarters of a wolf without a head. Bun, or Bearnoch, the queen, is killed.

36. V.42, from
l. 5, 43, 44.
W. Eu-
logy and
narrative.

Eulogy on Cenau mab-Llowarch-hen, king of the Selgovæ. The poet, who calls himself the bard of the Clyde, alludes to his being taken prisoner and thrown into a dungeon, in the course of this war, and ransomed by Cenau.

37. V.45. W.
Narrative.

The poet describes his state of imprisonment in a dungeon in the enemies' quarters (near Kaltraeth), and refers to his friendship with Taliesin. He apparently, as herald of the Britons, had been detained by the enemy, in the way of reprisal for some irregularity of his countrymen during the truce.

38. V.46. W.
Narrative.

The poet is delivered out of his subterranean dungeon by Cenau.

39. V.47-8, to
l. 10. W.
Narrative.

The Senyllt, or Butler, the purveyor of the viands, and of the beverages, having been taunted by the regalers, and being unable to bear their sarcasms, beats to arms in the hall, by striking with (the flat of) his sword (on the table). The blows resound through the whole place ; and he

*Personal names.**Local names, etc.*

Morien. Bradwen, *i.e.* Bun
or Bearnoch. Gwenaboui
mab-Gwenn.

The Rampart of turf.

Bradwen, *i.e.* Bun.

Loegrians. Lenn, *i.e.* Len-
nox. Archluyd. Walls of
the fortress (Mur Caer).

.

Sellovir-reen, *i.e.* Sel(go)vir-
reen, king of the Selgovæ
(titular), *i.e.* Cenau.

The gulf where the rivers
flow, *i.e.* the Clyde.

Aneurin. Taliesin.

Kaltraeth. Gododin (the
poem).

Cenau. Lowarch-Hen.

The North.

Senyllt (titular), supposed to
mean the chief, Eidol.

The Prætorium (Newadd).
The Bernicians. The men
of Lekleiku. The men of
Gododin. The fortress.

*Stanzas and subjects.**Contents.*

issues forth with those who were there, men of Lekleiku, and other combatants of Gododin. They attack the Bernicians on the south side of Kaltraeth, in support of their countrymen, who were at that time engaged with them. They had rushed in a throng from the fortress, and, having fought some time with the enemy, and having been disarmed and armed,—that is, having expended their javelins, and been resupplied,—they returned again in a throng to the fortress, as they had left it.

THE FIFTH DAY. SATURDAY.

40. V. 48, from l. 11, and 49. W. Narrative. Two chiefs, Cynan and Rhys, break through the enemies' line of attack. Allusion to the death of Domnal Brec, killed before (see stanza 22). Rhys is described as having, at some previous time, ravaged the country of the Picts.
41. V. 50, 51. W. Narrative. In the meanwhile, Morien, who had been active on former occasions, (see stanzas 31, 34), had taken no part in this success, but had conveyed himself away to the wine-store (*yn y gell*), where he was regaling on a shoulder of venison. He is represented as apostrophized by the poet, or by his own companions, and exhorted to issue forth to resist the invasion which had been brought about by Bun the traitress.
42. V. 52. W. Lamentation. Lamentation for the Otodini, and for the evils which arose from the mead potations of the warriors at Kaltraeth.

THE SIXTH DAY. SUNDAY.

43. V. 56. W. Narrative and eulogy. A general attack is made by Mynyddaug and the confederate chiefs (on the Picts to the north of the fortress), but without results. Morial and Huvelin are eulogised.

*Personal names.**Local names, etc.*

Rhys. Domnal Brec. Cy-
nan (understood).

Morien (understood). Brad- Y Saesson (the Saxons).
wen, *i.e.* Bun.

Doueoue. Aneurin.

Gododin (the Otodini).

Domnal Brec. Morial. Hu-
velin.

Kaltraeth. Loegrians. Go-
dodin (Kaltraeth). The
porticos.

*Stanzas and subjects.**Contents.*

44. V. 57. W. Eulogy. The Prætorium, or Basilica of Kaltraeth, is spoken of with commendation ; as also the fortress itself is eulogised for its spaciousness, and for its large (decuman) gate, as also for the quantity of spoil within the place. Cynan mab-Clydno is likewise highly eulogised.
45. V. 58. W. Eulogy. Eulogy on the mother of Eidol, and on Eidol.
46. V. 59. W. Narrative. Three hundred of the tribe of Mynyddaug attack the enemy, but are cut off, and only one man returns to the fortress.
47. V. 61-1. W. Lamentation. Lamentation on the foregoing catastrophe.
48. V. 62. W. Eulogy. Eulogy on Merin mab-Madien, who is compared to a second Nedic Nar, a mythological dwarf, who was accounted of a furious disposition.
49. V. 63. W. Reflections. Reflections on the slaughter of Kaltraeth, and on the tribute to which the Britons became subject in consequence of their defeat.
50. V. 64. W. Eulogy. Eulogy on Gwadnerth mab-Leowri.
51. V. 65. W. Eulogy. Eulogy on Cynan mab-Clydno, mentioned before, and commendations on him as a commander in the army of Mynyddaug.
52. V. 66. W. Lamentation. Continued lamentation on the slaughter. Lamentation on those warriors who partook of the banquet of Cynddilig of Aeron (king of the Novantes?) at Kaltraeth, of whom only one returned home.
53. V. 67-8. W. Eulogy and narrative. Eulogy on the tribe of Mynyddaug, descendants of Eudaf-hir, being the tribe of St. Helena, with a sketch of their deeds each day of the conflict of Kaltraeth, as follows : Tuesday they armed ; Wednesday they polished up their enameled cuirasses ; Thursday, their destruction became

*Personal names.**Local names, etc.*

Cynan mab-Clydno.

The Basilica, or Prætorium
(newadd). The fortress
(dinas). The great outer
gate (dor angor).

Eidol.

Mynyddaug.

Kaltraeth.

Mynyddaug. Mab-Peil.
Owen (understood).

Kaltraeth. Gododin.

Merin mab-Madien. Nedic
Nar.

Chief of Gwened.

Kaltraeth. Gwened (Gwen-
edota).

Gwadnerth mab-Leowri.

Cynan mab-Clydno. Myn-
yddaug.

Kaltraeth. Gododin.

Eidol. Cynddilig of Aeron.

Aeron.

Mynyddaug.
Madoc.

Eudaf-hir.

The ramparts. Gododin (the
poem).

*Stanzas and subjects.**Contents.*

certain; Friday they brought off their dead; Saturday the works of the fortress were ruined; Sunday they again engaged and killed many of the enemy; Monday they were fighting up to their knees in blood: and only one warrior in an hundred returned to his home.

THE SEVENTH DAY. MONDAY.

54. V. 69-71. The battle becomes general early in the morning. Owen enters the strife, and, after fighting some time with the enemy, descends suddenly and rapidly the slope of the breach, and becoming thus separated from his companions, is killed.
55. V. 72-74, to l. 6, narrative. Eidol, full of consternation at this event, attacks the enemy to avenge his death, and a great slaughter of them ensues; but his companions are appalled by a sense of their desperate condition. The enemy, having now penetrated into the interior, set on fire the Prætorium or hall, and the building in which was the wine cellar. The flames illumine the fortress and the surrounding entrenchments.
56. V. 74, fr. l. 7, 75. W. Eulogy on Eidol.
57. V. 76-7. W. Rallying cries of the Britons in their last efforts.
58. V. 78-9. W. Narrative. Exertions of Mynyddaug in guarding the principal entrance from the sea, to retrieve the ill success of the war. He is killed: and the fortress, it thus appears, was stormed from the side next the sea.
59. V. 80-2, and 92. W. Retrospect of various transactions: as the descending of large bodies of the warriors from the (neighbouring) promontory (fort, see *Nennius*, c. ii) of Adoen (in some copies of the poem, Odren) to the festival of Koelcerth. Doings of the men

*Personal names.**Local names, etc.*

Owen.

The breach. The ramparts.
The trench. Owen's tumulus.

Eidol. Bun.

The Loegrians.

The rocks of Gwened (Gwenedota). The frontiers of Gododin.
Kaltraeth.

Mynyddaug.

Gododin (the fortress). The shore of the fortress (traeth).

Domnal Brec. Nouethon.
Cynddilig of Aeron mab-Ceidiaw, *i.e.* of the tribe.

Adoen (in some copies, Oderen). Koelcerth. Kaltraeth. Aeron.

*Stanzas and subjects.**Contents.*

- of Nouethon. The warriors drawn up at the early dawn. The death of Donald Brec. The array of the invaders with their blue banners. The breach in the rampart of the fort of Adoen (stanza 92, see Williams' edition, p. 199), and the resistance of the Britons at Kaltraeth against 100,000 men. Apostrophe of the poet to Cynddilig of Aeron, mab-Ceidiaw, or of the tribe of Ceidiaw.
60. V.83. W. Eulogy on Gwgan, Gwron and Gwli-
ghed.
61. V.84-5, to Eulogy on Cynddilig of Aeron, of the
l. 10. W. tribe of Ceidiaw (being mab-Cnudd, or
Narrative. Nudd, mab-Ceidiaw), who acted nobly
both towards friends and foes,—towards
friends, in overturning the mead glasses
of the chiefs, and the drinking tables of
the soldiers, at the point of the lance; and
towards foes, in manfully opposing them
at the final assault. The Britons continue
to resist, inspiring one another with fur-
ther rallying cries; but their endeavours
are ineffectual: and the work of their in-
discriminate slaughter commences.
62. V.85, fr. l. Lamentations for the result, written on
11-86. W. the anniversary of the battle.
Lamenta-
tion.

THE EPILOGUE.

63. V. 86, fr. Eulogy on Geraint, or Gerennius (son
v. 11-87, of Constantine the Third), king of Dum-
88. W. nonia, who, entering the Clyde with a
Narrative. squadron of ships and troops (and anchor-
ing) near the exit of the White Lake
(Loch Lomond), led the Britons against
the white, figured skins, *i.e.* the Picts;
and, moreover, gave a mead feast without
intoxication: thus affording a happy con-
trast to the former proceedings.

*Personal names.**Local names, etc.*

Ruvon-hir. Gwgan. Gwion,
and Gwlighed.

Cynddilig of Aeron mab-
Ceidiaw, *i.e.* of the family
or tribe of Ceidiaw.

Argoed. The rampart, *i.e.*
the Wall of Antoninus, or
Ghrimes Dyke.

Geraint, king of Dumnonia,
called otherwise Geren-
nius or Waimar.

The embouchure of the
White Lake.

SUBJECTS OF THE STANZAS.

Eulogy	24
Eulogy and narrative	7
Narrative	22
Miscellaneous	10
Total	—63

THE SEVEN DAYS OF THE CONTEST.

First day, Tuesday	Stanza 13-16
Second day, Wednesday	ditto 17-21
Third day, Thursday	ditto 22-34
Fourth day, Friday	ditto 35-39
Fifth day, Saturday	ditto 40-42
Sixth day, Sunday	ditto 43-53
Seventh day, Monday	ditto 54-63.

We have not given, in the above analysis, all the drinking details of the original; and the unblushing way in which they are spoken of by the poet, is certainly somewhat surprising. It may be said that there is a moral derivable from the whole, as they shortened their own lives, gave the victory to their most dreaded enemy, and ruined the cause of their country by their drunkenness; but it is not customary for morality to be inculcated in a style so bacchanalian in its cast, and with so much semi-approbation of the thing condemned. We have before alluded to the case of our Celts; and the only way of accounting for the extraordinary phenomenon of the disorders which took place, is the supposing that, having been promised a festival on their leaving their homes for the campaign, it was not thought prudent to deny them, though, as we find the festival was changed into a scene of active warfare by the unexpected advance of the enemy.

We will now endeavour to point out the locality of the battle of Gododin: a question which we consider to have been impossible to be answered before the Count De la Villemarqué so happily unlocked some of the leading difficulties of idiom of the ancient Celtic poet, having been accustomed, as he was, to make numerous translations from the kindred Armorican dialect; and besides adding, as he did, some important illustrations to the subject of the poem. It must now necessarily be considered to have been either at one end or the other of the Wall of Antoninus;

for Kaltraeth is Gwal-traeth, *i.e.* the "Wall strand", or the "Strand", or "Shore at the end of the wall"; which, the concurrent circumstances of the epic being considered, no sophistry can deny with any show of plausibility. It must necessarily be either the eastern or western end of the wall; and we know it cannot be the western extremity, because the Strathclyde and Brigantine kingdoms were conquered in detail, in the fifth and sixth centuries, from the east to the west. It was therefore necessarily at the eastern extremity; and it is only requisite to add two or three illustrations to this point, making also, at the same time, a remark or two on the subject of the Wall of Antoninus.

This ancient boundary, ditch and rampart, which extended about thirty-six miles, and somewhat more, including deviations, began at the western extremity, near the hamlet of Dunotter; and ended at the eastern extremity, at a place known as Coreddin, and anciently Eidyn, as appears by stanzas 17 and 18 of the poem. This place, we may conclude, being now called Coreddin, was named very similarly in early times, Coreddin, or Coreiddin, to distinguish it from the other, Eiddin, or Eidin (Edinburgh,) only about fifteen miles distant: and here, there is no doubt, was the Kaltraeth of the poem, where the battle of Gododin was fought. To continue, however, on the subject of the Wall.

The Wall of Antoninus, we should not omit to say, had a number of fortresses placed at intervals along the line of its course: in fact, it had about seventeen or eighteen, of which ten are still pretty well preserved. We must a little describe these. They are some square, some of an oblong shape; some are singly entrenched, some are doubly so, and comprise a clear area, within the works, of from two to three and a half acres. A couple are somewhat larger, and one is, as it were, a double fort, having two somewhat similar works joined together. Both the forts at the extremities have been removed: Dunotter on the west, and that we have just mentioned, Coreddin, the ancient Eidyn, on the east; but judging of the area which the last seems to have occupied, they may have been of about the size of the two largest forts still remaining, Duntocher and Kirkpatrick, the last of which contained a clear area of three

acres, three roods, and thirty-one perches, besides the space in the double trenches. The Wall had this peculiarity. A Roman mile at each end from the termination, it made a sudden deflexion, though at a very obtuse angle, to the south: the effect of which would be, that the two end stations would be placed so as to face the sea, with only a little variation in their position as to the Wall.

The annual festival of the Koelcerth, held on the shore, would exactly correspond with the situation here. There is such a shore at the place, which we may conclude was the one meant: and the prefix, "cor", of the Coreddin, is also much in point. There was such a prefix to the name of Stonehenge, where a similar annual festival was held, it being called "Cor Emrys". It is true it occurs by its name Eidin only, in stanzas 17 and 18 of the *Gododin*; which, however, seems not material.

But we have the three names, Coreddin, Kaltraeth, and Gododin, and, we may also add, the Mordae, connected with this battle, which we may briefly specify thus. Coreddin signified the Eiddin, Eidin, or Edin, where the festival was held, in contradistinction to the other Eidin or Eiddin (that is Edinburgh): Kaltraeth signified the "Fortress of the Wall near the sea strand"; whilst the word Gododin merely signified the Otodini, and is frequently applied to Kaltraeth, as being the place where the battle was fought, which so nearly concerned the Otodini: likewise at times it is applied as the name of the poem itself, describing the battle. The Mordae was the said strand, on which the Britons fought for the three first days, till they were driven into the fortress.

Though this assignment may seem obvious enough, yet, strange as it may appear, it has never been suggested before; and the reason is, that the context of the various relative passages has never been before—that is, before Villemarqué's time—duly apprehended. Thus the word *treiawr*, implying tide, or equivalent expressions, occurs in stanzas 14, 16, 19, 30; but previous translators had understood, not the tide of the sea, but a stream, or concourse of men, or a measure of time of so many hours. Again, *mordae*, or the strand of the sea, occurs in stanzas 14, 16, 19, and *traeth*, the shore, in stanza 30: and yet the meaning of those words appears to have been interpreted

differently by critical inquirers, who thus have considered themselves at liberty to assign the situation of the battle of the Gododin very frequently to places where there is no tide and no sea shore. They, perhaps, may allege that Villemarqu  himself translates "aber", in stanzas 54 and 59, literally a conflux of waters, as a concourse of people; and speaks of the tide in a metaphorical sense (stanza 24), and uses the expression of a "great sea of warriors". This is all granted: but the context sufficiently shows that, in a variety of cases, we are to take the literal meaning.

Besides Kaltraeth another place seems mentioned, which was near adjoining, being called Adoen: and, as this name in four copies stands as Odren, it is presumable it is a word of the same import as the Odina, Odnea, or Turris Ordans, which was the designation of Caligula's Pharos at Boulogne, and we may conclude that there was a lighthouse here also, and that it occupied the high ground near the Grange, about three-quarters of a mile from Coreddin. It is mentioned as a place of rendezvous of the Britons: "I saw large bodies of warriors descend from the promontory of Odren to the festival of Koelcerth" (stanza 59); and we may be allowed to suppose—indeed it is necessary to suppose—that a large proportion of the Britons were intrenched there.

The reason is this. The Wall-Fortress of Kaltraeth or Coreddin, the size of which we have given before, we are quite sure from rules of Roman castrametation, was originally constructed for a garrison of two cohorts or 1200 men, but on an emergency it of course could contain a far greater number. Still there must necessarily have been a limit to the numbers it could accommodate; and with an interior area equal to the size we have specified of four acres, and including the space of a double intrenchment on three sides, and a single one on the fourth, for so the wall forts were formed, the limit of the troops which could here find shelter in the fort and in its trenches would be about 11,000, leaving us to understand that about as many had intrenched themselves for the occasion on the other hill. The poem, it is scarcely necessary to say, confines itself to what occurred at Kaltraeth: as this Adoen, or Odren, is only thrice mentioned or alluded to, *i.e.* in stanzas 57, 59, and 92, Williams' edition.

However, it is, perhaps, necessary to observe, that though we have supposed the forts of the wall of Antoninus nearly of even size, yet it is possible, that, for some purpose, the two end ones might have been constructed larger; and it must be conceded, that in stanza 44, where the poet mentions the fortress, certain terms are used, which might imply that it had a superiority in point of size. If so, its dimensions and capacity might have possibly been on a somewhat greater scale than what we have as above presumed.

The works of these wall forts, we should not omit to add, were not strong. There was the usual twenty-four foot wide ditch and twelve deep, and the rampart with its banquette five feet high on the inside, with a palisade on the top. But little now would be thought of such defences.

The places mentioned in the interior of the fortress of Kaltraeth exactly correspond to those in a Roman fortress,—as, first, the porticos. In regard to which it appears by numerous delineations in Boecking's *Notitia Imperii*, that when the gateway was passed and the fortress entered, there was a species of square place or court, around which porticos or colonnades went on two sides. Secondly, the basilica or prætorium. It is needless to point out that there was such a place in a castellum of the kind we allude to. Thirdly, the great gate, the “dor angor” (dor ang-or, *i.e.* the great gate of the outside) of stanza 44, is equally well known in these constructions. It was usually called the Decuman gate. Besides these particulars, there is very frequent mention of the trenches of the fort in various stanzas of the Gododin; and altogether the conformity is striking: but we will again revert to this topic.

We know from the poem itself, that at some interval after the capture of Kaltraeth peace was made and a tribute was imposed, notwithstanding Geraint or Gerenius, king of Dumnonia, of whom we have had to record several particulars in the preceding chapter, and whose tumulus has only been very recently opened, arrived with his fleet and made a descent. He, indeed, is only mentioned as having marched against the “white, figured skins”,—that is the Picts. It appears also that the Saxons not only razed the fortress of Kaltraeth on this occasion, but also destroyed and obliterated three or four of the

easternmost forts as far as Castle Rough, that is for about ten or eleven miles. There are none now remaining for the said whole extent.

In regard to the state of the text, we may at once pronounce that there is no appearance that we have this poem as it came from the hands of the author: on the contrary, we not only find the text rendered imperfect by numerous chasms, but also what remains is remarkable throughout by a continued series of verbal variations, evidently introduced *ad libitum* by copyists, in the same way as is so noticeable in the works of Gildas or Nennius. But as we do not wish the reader to take mere assertions for granted, we will make this all plain enough by referring to special circumstances in the present text.

One instance in point is the very extraordinary omission of the sortie of Owen and his troops from the fortress on the third day, when Domnal Brec was killed. It is one of the best authenticated facts of these times, being mentioned in two chronicles at least, that the said Domnal Brec was killed in a fight with Owen: and his death is alluded to in the poem several times as a circumstance of importance, and the narrative and description of it should have followed stanza 22, but is entirely absent: and the omission is the more surprising, as two intimations, one in stanza 21 another in stanza 22, appear to be given that it would be introduced. The circumstance can only be accounted for by admitting that all the present copies are derived from one and the same manuscript in the early Middle Ages, and that the account of this event having, from some unknown cause, been removed from the then said sole remaining copy, it has of course been wanting in all succeeding ones.

Having, thus, possession of this important fact, for so we must regard it, we are supplied with some material information as to the original state of the poem. All our present copies, then, are derived from a truncated—that is a mutilated—original: and if such important stanzas relating to the hero of the poem are deficient, there is but little doubt that several which formed the introduction are gone, and that we have only the concluding ones of the proemium remaining, which at present is somewhat abrupt. We likewise may suspect that there were in the

original, stanzas describing the fortress ; stanzas describing the poet's captivity and liberation ; stanzas describing the Saxon forces and leaders ; stanzas describing the ultimate capture of the place more particularly, and that of the neighbouring fort of Adoen, and the escape of the three chiefs, Cynan and Kadreith and Kadleu of Cadnant, and that of the poet himself, besides numerous other connecting links in the narrative. We may scarcely call the above by the name of conjectures, but rather we may denominate them points of certainty. The neglect of so fine a poem, such a *chef d'œuvre* of Celtic genius, though it may be wondered at, is rendered less improbable, it being considered how turbulent and warlike the next century and a half was which succeeded the era of the poet, and the continual dangers with which all the hearths and homes of Cambria were threatened. At last the mutilated copy attracting attention,—mutilated though unique,—and interest becoming suddenly attached to it, perhaps in the flourishing times of Roderic the Great or Howel Dhu, its transcribers could only copy what they found ; so that, in fact, our present manuscripts merely represent a defective original ; and all the present variations of existing copies are obviously nothing more than those deviations which, from one cause or other, transcribers have chosen to introduce.

But we go further, and submit that from the irregular arrangement of the present poem, from several transpositions, and the very apparent omissions of lines and parts of stanzas here and there, that the first copy in the early Middle Ages we have alluded to was very capriciously made ; and either the then copyist, or some of the succeeding ones, having omitted some of the stanzas in their proper places,—not very important ones, it must be confessed,—afterwards inserted them erroneously, some at the end and others elsewhere, so that it is not practicable now entirely to restore them to their correct places in the poem.

We then need not be surprised if many of the stanzas in almost all parts of this epic have the appearance of being placed very unconnectedly, and that we cannot now always understand the references of numerous striking passages which are relative to parts now gone. It can only be

said of the poem in its present state, that we have the proemium and the seven days of the transactions, as also the conclusion in a tolerably satisfactory sequence. At least so we venture to form an opinion; for there is not even an entire certainty in this.

The Count de la Villemarqué's arrangement on the whole seems best to adopt, who comprises the work in sixty-three stanzas, and, as far as may be judged, in a very appropriate order. He omits the various additional stanzas which appear in some copies at the end; indeed, they may be omitted without much loss. One, however, 92 of Williams' edition, supplies information of interest, of which we have availed ourselves. The numerous eulogies the poem contains on persons connected with Welsh families, have no doubt been the means of handing it down to us.

A few words on the style; which seems distinguished by a rapid succession of thought, and appears the more remarkable for that particular from the brief and compressed form of phrase common to the Celtic idiom which was used by the poet. He works upon the Celtic customary mode of repetition, or quasi-repetition, or otherwise chromatic embellishment to which we have alluded at our previous pages 13 and 14, and brings it in occasionally with great effect. Another striking feature in his management of his subject is his happy vein of eulogy, and the skill and pathos he frequently displays in contrasting the misfortunes and slaughter of his heroes with scenes of quite a different description. He thus adds much to the effect produced in expressing his regrets for their loss.

The tone and style of the poem are, indeed, generally speaking, very different from any other that we can compare it with, either written by Celtic or Greek or Roman authors. Taliesin, though a noble poet, displays a species of half-concealed rancour, of which, notwithstanding his country's wrongs, there is no trace in Aneurin. Lowarch-hên writes with a certain ferocity of manner very noticeable, which certainly has no place in the *Gododin*; while the polished Grecian and Roman poets are more artificial, and usually less redundant. However, we can find one ancient to whom our author much approximates in the

manner of introducing his thoughts, and indeed somewhat in the tone and style of them, and this is Pindar, though we will not exactly place him on a par with the great Greek bard in his own peculiar style, to whom, in loftiness of thought and sublimity, it is difficult to find a parallel.

He has several measures or metres: the longest being of ten syllables, another of eight, another of six, and another of four. He uses these indiscriminately, and seems to have adopted them merely for variety: except that he expresses in this last a species of recitative, and when he does so his ideas appear to flow without restraint, and with an uninterrupted rapidity. This last measure is like the short anapests in Seneca and other ancients; and this species of recitative in very short verses is not unknown to moderns, but it is believed is scarcely used except in the lighter class of songs.

It may be necessary to make the remark, that possibly Aneurin intended many more local allusions than are now obvious in the poem. The uncertainty is of this kind: that it may be suspected that the ancient copyists of our poem, who undoubtedly have taken many liberties with the text, adopted sometimes verbal variations, to make it appear that certain localities were referred to by the poet. At other times, and in a greater number of instances, it may be judged that they have done exactly the contrary: and, not recognizing the places named, have altered the wording of passages to show ostensibly that something of a different nature was expressed. This of course must occasion more uncertainty still to modern readers of the poem, who have not the text in an original state. Instances of the second class must be of course difficult for moderns to pronounce upon, but we appear to have several of the first kind. The Count de la Villemarqué supposes in his note on stanza 9, that the warrior Mab-Cian, killed as the forces were on their march to Gododin, is described as "of Manchester" (*Maen gwenn koun*, for *Mancunium*): but Nennius, who in his c. LXVI has a mention of Cian the father, establishes the reading not of Mab-Cian of Manchester, but of Mab-Cian "Gwyngwyn", whatever that may mean. Villemarqué supposes likewise Noc and Esgic in stanza 30 to be local

names, but the opinion does not seem to be entertained by other critics, and some perversion of the text by copyists in this place is very possible.

With regard to personal names, somewhat of an opposite rule must be followed. There are certainly fewer personal names than has been supposed to be the case by some translators. For not to mention that many may have been misled by the *Gorchan Cynvelin* that there was originally one in each stanza, it is further obvious that words difficult to ascertain as to their meaning, have been supposed personal names both by ancient copyists and modern translators. It is very striking, that when Villemarqué, whose especial talent is being skilful in the Celtic idiom beyond any who have preceded him or that probably will follow him, took Aneurin's work in hand, a great part of these presumed names vanished like mists, and were found to be only a part of the poet's descriptive diction or otherwise.

As we have again mentioned Villemarqué as a Celtic scholar and translator, we should, perhaps, also note that an anonymous writer in the *Quarterly Review* for Sept. 1852, who is evidently himself a learned and accomplished scholar in Celtic literature, supposes, in p. 278 of that publication, that he is somewhat inclined to introduce what he styles "French prettinesses", instead of attending to strict accuracy. We have not been exactly able to discover any appreciable foundation for this ourselves, and as the writer himself acquits him in the instances he had himself examined, it may be considered, perhaps, sufficiently conclusive on the matter to observe, that there is naturally and inherently in the Celtic language much of the French style and *tournure*; and the genius and structure of the two languages being so similar, is no doubt one element of Villemarqué's great success; so that we need not necessarily suppose that he has introduced extraneous ornament. Whilst mentioning the above, it would be wrong to let it be imagined that the anonymous *Quarterly* reviewer disparages our learned French translator and critic; on the contrary, he much eulogizes and commends him; indeed, the writer of the said very elaborate article to which we have alluded, and of one, we believe, equally gifted on the *Cyclops Christianus* of

Mr. Herbert in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for Nov. 1849, could hardly be insensible to the great light thrown on a department of literature in which he himself is evidently so successful an investigator.

In regard to the military tactics, of which there are indications in the poem, there are certainly less of this kind than might be expected, considering that the subject is the seven days' siege of a Roman fortress, or what had been a Roman fortress, defended by the northern Britons against the Saxons. We find by the *History* of Gildas, c. 24, that the Saxons had plenty of battering rams, in the use of which, according to him, they were very liberal (see our previous pages 24-5). However, in this siege there is no mention of battering rams, which agrees extremely well with the locality to which we have assigned it, that is, a fortress with earthen ramparts at the eastern extremity of the Wall of Antoninus. In this case, the use of the said formidable engine would have been out of the question. The allusion, as we have said, to military tactics is but limited in the poem, and appears to be comprised in these few particulars. (1) The Britons, it is plain, when they made sallies, issued out in column, and deployed into line. (2) It is equally clear that when the Saxons returned these attacks, their attacking force was accompanied by a party with spades and other implements, who endeavoured to level down the ramparts. (3) The sally of Tudvulch-hir, in stanza 14, the first that was made, seems to have been arranged on the principle of taking advantage of the tide leaving the Mordae, or strand, free to the garrison before it did so to the enemy. Tudvulch-hir and Cyvulch-hir, therefore, draw up their men there in good order and await the enemy, whose movements would again appear to have been disconcerted by the deeper water in their direction, and consequently briefer interval allowed by the tide. (4) In the second sally made by Tudvulch, which was to the north, or north-east of the fortress, and directed against the Picts, and which is described in stanza 17, he issues from the fortress, and draws up his men in the trench, where they were protected by their countrymen on the ramparts. He is said to have thrown out one wing wide, which ostensibly means that the Britons, having another intrenchment at Adoen,

or Odren, about a mile distance, joining to the wall, he extended the line of his men in the trench of the Ghrimes dyke (another name for the Wall of Antoninus and its fosse) till it reached that place, and was supported by his countrymen there. This is all we are told, or rather infer, in respect to the manœuvres of the Britons. The other attacks mentioned on other occasions on the nearest positions and defences of the besiegers are not at all circumstantially described, and, if we may judge, were usually not very successful, nor persisted in long. The Britons seem very much over-matched from the first.

We have shown that there could not have been ostensibly more than 11,000 in Kaltraeth, *i.e.*, Coreddin, and possibly not many more in Adoen, for we find it was closely beset and breached (stanza 92 *Williams*), whilst the Saxons and Picts are once or twice said in the poem to comprise 100,000 men in all their forces. Adoen, we should add, seems only to have been a casual intrenchment, made for the occasion, as the mile castles were not on this Wall, but on the Wall of Severus. The Castella on the present one were about two and a half miles apart.

We have considered the north in our detail of the transactions at Gododin, otherwise Kaltraeth, or Coreddin, as in the poem, to have been that side on which the contests with the Picts occurred, and the south that on which the Loegrians, Deirians, and Bernicians attacked; but, strictly speaking, the fortress is believed to have laid nearly north-east and south-west.

We know scarcely anything of Aneurin but what he tells us of himself. We judge he belonged to the kingdom of Strathclyde Proper, for he calls himself the "Bard of the Clyde", and he appears to have accompanied the British army as herald; and whilst acting in that capacity he was taken prisoner, as we have before conjectured, from the Britons breaking the truce. He has not given us the particulars of his ultimate escape; but it may be concluded that when the place was taken, he surrendered again, and was allowed to depart.

We should, perhaps, notice the improbable conjecture of the late Mr. Edward Williams, commonly called Iolo Morganwg, that Aneurin was the same person as Gildas. It may be sufficient to say, that there is no reasonable

basis for such a supposition. There were two persons, as is well known, of the name of Gildas. The eldest of them, Gildas Albanus, died in 512, fifty-eight years before the conflict of Kaltraeth; the younger Gildas, surnamed Badonicus, it so happened, died in Ireland the same year, aged seventy-eight, after having been a resident and actively engaged as a missionary there for four years. Had, then, Iolo Morganwg considered points of chronology, he would have found his idea sufficiently dispelled.

Aneurin, it seems, was respected by his countrymen, who called him, as we find in *Triad* 48, "Aneurin of the flowing muse." It is related of him that after the war of Gododin he quitted Caledonia and came to reside in Cambria, at the College of St. Cattwg, with which, there is no doubt, from his eminent station in literature, he was officially connected. It is likewise related that he was ultimately killed by a blow with an axe, by a person named Einigan, which is spoken of with great indignation in the said *Triad* which we have referred to. There is good reason, however, to suppose that he was well advanced in life, as in his poem of Gododin he calls Owen a youth, who was a person of about twenty-six years of age, which would imply that he was very much his senior at the time.

We have noticed, at a previous page, that some difference of opinion has existed among the literati as to the nature of the subject treated of in the Gododin; and when so eminent a man as Edward Davies pronounced it altogether a mystical poem, and to have solely a covert reference to the massacre at Stonehenge; and when another so eminent a writer as the late Honourable Algernon Herbert supported the views of Davies to their fullest extent, it was, of course, sufficient to excite the doubts of many. But the opinions of these two Celtic scholars and critics were somewhat far-fetched, and principally, indeed, founded on the circumstance that a person of the same name, Eidol, was one of the actors on both occasions, that is, at Stonehenge and Kaltraeth, which is, after all, only to be regarded as a specimen of coincidences which sometimes will occur. Collaterally, likewise, their faith in the battle of Kaltraeth being a real event, is shaken by its neither being mentioned by the British or Saxon *Chronicles*.

Mr. Herbert would likewise introduce an objection from the death of Domnal Brec described in the poem. This Pictish king, Mr. Herbert says (*Cyclops Christianus*, p. 168), according to the *Annals* of Tigernach, was killed in 1642; while, according to the *Annals* of Ulster, the event occurred in 685; and as the date in the *Gododin*, which would be about 570, would be suitable neither to the one nor the other, he thought this a sufficient proof that the work was not intended to be a narration of real events. However, we may remark, that if the two authorities do not agree with each other, *a fortiori*, it cannot be any disparagement to the *Gododin* that it does not agree with either.

We are speaking of what are now somewhat passed opinions; for since the publication of Mr. Williams' translation, with notes, and that of the Count De la Villemarqué, there is left no reasonable doubt on the subject, and it is believed no supporter remains of the former opinions. It was a real battle, and a battle of magnitude; and the omissions by the British *Chronicle*, and that of the Saxons, are only omissions of the same kind as they have made of other great military events. The why and the wherefore of which seems to be, that neither of those collections of annals made the Strathclyde wars any subject of theirs. Bede did so still less, who was writing an ecclesiastical history, and troubled himself but little about these regions and their politics.

It is quite certain that the idea of the *Gododin* being more or less a mystical poem, whether it did or did not relate to Stonehenge, has much influenced the translations which have been made of it. Many supposing it a composition of that nature appear to have thought that it was necessarily shrouded with the obscurity which is so often connected with matters relating to the Druids; and, consequently, have considered that the translation ought to be somewhat mystical to be correct; and that should it be too plain, it would be a fault. We are not obliged to the Count De la Villemarqué for anything in a higher degree than for his having entirely dispelled this idea, and for his showing us that it is not a mystical but an historical composition; and that it ought to be translated on the usual principle of making the ideas the most natural and the most clear possible. -

A few passing remarks appear to present themselves. One is, that from the incomplete form in which the poem has come down to us, it happens that almost every subject treated of in it partakes of the same incompleteness. The account of Owen, the hero of the poem which we have alluded to, is one: whose principal exploit, as we have noticed, overthrowing Domnal Brec, is entirely left out. Again, Tudvulch-hir, the king of Eiddin, or Edin, is left out of the latter part of the poem, though he was a species of hero subordinate to Owen, and forms the topic, in the way of eulogy and narrative, of four or five stanzas in the beginning of the poem, in one of which it is intimated that his doings were greater still on the seventh day of the fight, and that he was killed on that day; and that there was something remarkable in his death: yet, when the narrative of the poem comes to that part, there is no mention of him whatever. Further, as to a chief from Powis, called Morien, mentioned also in *Triad* 44, apparently originally from Armorica, and who, possibly, had been sent with troops by Rhun ap Maelgwyn from Gwynedd, the account is evidently deficient, though much expectation is raised by the poet. The Newadd, or banqueting hall, basilica, or prætorium, is often mentioned, that is to say, it occurs in stanzas 30, 31, 32, 39, and 44; and in such a way as would seem to imply there had been a fuller description of it in some other place in the poem.

The part of this poetic composition we have now left is thus no more than a somewhat long, and historically, a valuable fragment. Villemarqué has made a notification of no less than seventy-five chasms in different parts of the poem. Some of these may have been no chasms at all, but only instances of Celtic abruptness—at the same time there may have been other passages omitted which he has not detected: taking then his number seventy-five for an average, it may be estimated that there are above a thousand lines deficient, so that we may judge the original comprised at least two thousand verses; and, indeed, it might have been much longer. Again, regard being had to the skill and talent the poet displays, there is every reason to suppose that it was, originally, worked up into the full framework of an epic poem, which, indeed, must have embodied much poetic excellence along, no doubt, with many defects, some

of which we have pointed out. But taste has been wanting among those who should have preserved it entire, and so we have a fragment only.

We should not omit to say, that Mr. Williams, in his translation of the *Gododin*, gives us some elucidation as to the word *neuadd*, and says, pp. 132 and 148, that it does not necessarily signify a hall at all as in the poem, because he can produce some instances by which it seems that it had also the sense of "camp," or "fortress," anciently: indeed, he alleges, that in one stanza horses are said to be in the hall; which, however, might possibly have been in sheds or appendages connected with the building, which might have been included by the name "hall;" and we may the more readily accept some such explanation, as we find Mr. Williams himself, notwithstanding he notices the point, receives it in the sense of hall. Indeed, it is a very strong corroboration, for being described in stanza 30, as of the "colour of carnage," it is evidently meant to be implied that it was built of brick; whereas the forts on the Ghrimes dyke, or barrier of Antoninus, had merely earthen ramparts, and the said barrier or wall itself was also a rampart of the same description.

The mention of the fortress, which is styled "Caer" and "Dinas" in the *Gododin*, is, as we have before observed at a previous page, another instance of incomplete description; though it must be allowed there is some considerable incidental reference to it. The names of both "Dinas" and "Caer" are, as has been noticed, connected with it; and there is some doubt, at first sight, whether the latter expression might not imply that there was a citadel, signified by the name "Caer," which was situated within the Dinas or fortress itself, especially as the expression "mur caer," or wall of the caer, is used; whereas we know that the fortresses on the Wall of Antoninus, as we have just specified, had only earthen ramparts. However, as citadels are extremely rare in Roman fortresses or castella, it may be judged that the words "caer," and "mur caer," are only used with a kind of latitude of which many examples might be produced in other instances, and that nothing more than one of the usual castella of the Wall of Antoninus was intended.

But little attention, it is believed, has hitherto been

paid to excavate the interior of Roman fortresses, whether coming under the designation of castella, or itinerary stations, to ascertain the original arrangement of the buildings. We are inclined to think that the delineations of Roman castella, in Boecking's *Notitia Imperii*, 8vo, 1839-1853, to which we have before referred, give a faithful general idea of them. It is true they are only ornamental embellishments to the said Roman Office Book of Dignities and Commands, but they come to us as copies of copies of drawings made by the Romans themselves in the fifth century; and there is no reason why there should not have been a general correctness in the original designs. These, as we have before observed, invariably represent a continuous arcade round two sides of a large plot of ground or esplanade, which is immediately to the right of the principal entrance or prætorian gate. Behind this appear to be what we may suppose were intended to be represented as the principal buildings of the fortress, and with these are mixed in much confusion other buildings, including, occasionally, as in the one relating to Britain, another colonnade or two among the various edifices; and included with them, as a feature in Roman architecture, appear many slender towers, somewhat like the minaret of Cinq-Mars, near Tours, in France, delineated in Mr. C. Roach Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. iv, p. 11; and we should add, that in some of the representations of fortresses, a double colonnade or arcade is seen; and opposite to the square space, which, as we have said, is on the right hand of the gate, there is a semicircular inclosure on the other side, in shape like to the half part of an oval amphitheatre divided into two longitudinally.

The elaborate work of Mr. C. Roach Smith, the *Collectanea Antiqua*, which is now become indispensable for every one to consult who would affect any claim to be acquainted with antiquarian subjects, contains much information on the point. The third volume, published in 1854, has, in fact, two plans of Roman castella, the one in France, the other in Britain. The first, p. 112, Jublains, is irrelative, because, though undoubtedly Roman, it is not similar in arrangement to any known in this country, as it comprises an exterior and interior fortress. The second, at p. 74, seems as near to the point as could be

expected, and is the result of excavations which have been commenced at the fortress of High Rutchester or Bremenium, extracted from Dr. Bruce's Appendix to the second edition of his account of the Roman Wall.

The fortress of Bremenium comprises within its wall about four acres, which is, as nearly as may be, the size of that of Coreddin or Kaltraeth. On entering the prætorian gate, there is, to the right, just such a space as would seem required for the square plot of ground, with its two colonnades or ranges of porticos; by the scale, seventy yards by fifty; but of course there are no remnants of arcades there now, which we may judge were built somewhat slight and unsubstantial; but what is very material to the purpose, there are no foundations of buildings upon it. On the left hand side of the prætorian entrance there is likewise a space vacant of foundations, where apparently was situated the semilunar inclosure, which is frequently observed to be delineated, as before remarked, in the representations in Boecking's *Notitia* at that place. A large building is in the centre, or rather the foundations of one, measuring, for its outside dimensions, about eighty feet by seventy-five, which we may easily conclude to have been the hall, that is, the prætorium or basilica. There are the foundations of a wall running longitudinally down the centre, which, however, was probably only connected with the subdivisions of the basement, for an ancient basilica had a central nave, like our churches, and two side aisles; and there are some indications that such divisions existed in this case. There is an hypocaust under part of the space, and what appear to have been a large tank or two for the supply of water. Some other buildings were placed on either side of the prætorium, but not touching it, 80 feet long and about 26 wide. They formed double ranges, and there appear to have been more not yet excavated; so that the whole would have formed, as the term is, a block of buildings right across the centre of the castellum, and parallel to its sides.

We may conclude that the troops were usually exercised on the square space, surrounded by the porticos or colonnade, which we have mentioned, under which they could retire in bad weather, as we see is done in our barrack yards. The troops also could draw up in this square before issuing from the prætorian gate.

It will be then seen that we have a parallel to the descriptions in the *Gododin* in the ancient delineations of Roman fortresses handed down to us in Boecking's *Notitia Imperii*; and a parallel to both in Dr. Bruce's late explorations at High Rutchester, the ancient Bremenium, in Mr. C. Roach Smith's work. As we have the fortress, the hall, and the porticos, we need not doubt that all the other adjuncts also fully corresponded.

We must not neglect, in our subject of the *Gododin*, to notice the occurrence of numerous titular and official names, which fully vindicate the genuineness of the poem. It would not be right to omit alluding to these titular names, for, like chemical tests for the discovery of various substances, they have been found an important means of ascertaining truth and fact in ancient British affairs, for which we may refer to the *Coins of Cunobeline*, and the *Britannic Researches*. We will give the names of this class, which form an important part of our present subject, in one view together; arranging them according to their places in the poem.

Stanza 10 et alibi. *Mynyddaug* (explanation), Mynegai tagos, or directing chief (literally, telling or informing, *i.e.* giving orders). *Stanza 18.* *Cynrig*.—Cyn, head or chief, adjectively, put interchangeably for *pen*, and *rig* or *rix*, a ruler, meaning a head or chief king. *Cynan*.—Cyn, as before, and *an*, a district; the same word being also used indifferently to express the ruler of a district. *Cynren*, *i.e.* Cyn-rhain, chief spear, signifying chief or commander. The Romans had a similar expression, "primipilaris", implying certain who were distinguished among the legionary soldiers. *Aeron*, of which presently. *Stanza 27.* *Ieuuan*; possibly Iudeu-an, *i.e.* chief of a district where Jews were located. See the *History* of Nennius, c. LXVI; the *History* of Bede, i. 12; and our previous page, 35. *Guaourdur*: apparently Guayar dwr for Gwanar dwr, *i.e.* the water chief. *Peredur*, the same as Por y dwr, *i.e.* the sea or naval king. *Stanza 38.* *Cenau*, the cub, *i.e.* the prince. *Lowarch*, *i.e.* Llewarch, the lion chief. *Stanza 39.* *Senyllt*, *i.e.* the steward. *Stanza 50.* *Lleowri*, *i.e.* lion king. *Stanza 52.* *Cynddilig*, which will be considered in connexion with the word *Aeron*. *Stanza 63.* *Geraint*, *i.e.* Gwr-an, or man in office, or official, being a title used among the Dumnonians for their king.

Regarding the term "Aeron", which occurs several times in the *Gododin*, and the consideration of which we have deferred to this place, there is but little doubt it has an official signification. It means, in fact, no more or less, according to the literal interpretation of the two words of which it is composed, than "War-department" (aer-an); and we may understand that our northern Britons, profiting by the example of the Romans, which they had before them for so many years, had seen the necessity of establishing in their confederacy a war-office or ministry, and that the same was called, in their tongue, "Aeran" or "Aeron", the literal meaning of which is the "war jurisdiction". Certain persons are represented as belonging to this in the *Gododin*, as Cynddilig and Cynren, and two persons called the "two dogs of war of Aeron" (deu gatki Aeron) in stanza 20; which two, in the *Gorchan Cynvelyn*, are again described as Kadreith and Kadleu of Cadnant, which may induce the opinion and supposition, that the depôt of the Aeron, or War Establishment, was at a place of the above appellation. They would also appear to have had some small permanent force, called the Legion, if we rightly apprehend Cynddilig's appellation, which may be judged to be "Cyn-y-Lig, i.e. head or commander of the legion. This, perhaps, might have been used as a species of nucleus or training establishment for organising their army when preparing for the field. We should, likewise, add that Aeron is not a local name; for there is no place so named in any part of Britain, though there is the river Aeron in Cardiganshire, which is unlikely to be meant. The reader will find some further explanations in a subsequent chapter, connected with the word Cynan, and some others.

The tribes mentioned in this poem as that of Meirchion, Ceidiaw and others, are a great illustration of ancient British history, and appear to have been the same as the "gentes", or head families among the Romans.

We may now take our leave of the *Gododin*, and observe that much remains to be explained in it yet. The idiom of various passages may still have been not apprehended; and it is certain that various allusions, historical and local, in the poem are not understood. This ancient composition not being in a perfect state, no doubt contributes to veil

some parts of it in obscurity; but now that a greater degree of attention is directed to it, we may conclude that further elucidation will be obtained in process of time.

Erratum, p. 230.—For *Howel Dhu*, read *Howel Dha*.

CHAPTER V.

THE ANCIENT SEA COAST OF BRITAIN ILLUSTRATED BY THAT OF KENT.

THE true history of a country at any particular period should not only be based upon the most authentic accounts which can be obtained, but also upon a true geography of it, without which all other explorations will not be sufficient. We rest on this point as giving value to the discussions here entered upon, and as connecting them with our researches after historical truth.

We may say, then, that our present inquiries will be of a nature important in tracing the boundaries of ancient British kingdoms in the island, and of Roman provinces, the situation of British and Roman towns, and ascertaining the direction of Roman roads, and the position of their itinerary stations. It would be desirable, if researches of the nature of our present one, could be carried on through the whole of Great Britain; but it can be only done so by piecemeal, as correct local knowledge of nearly innumerable details is indispensable for each individual county; and thus, in every instance, a separate investigation will be required. In this way only a species of instalment can be obtained from time to time, as casual explorers come forward to supply the results, each of their own observations, and furnish the detail of the materials they have collected.

Kent being the native county of the writer, has given him many advantages in collecting together the following

observations; and Kent is undoubtedly one of the most interesting localities where such inquiries could be made. But Kent by no means monopolises all the interest, as it is obvious that results equally important are obtainable elsewhere. The value of like investigations in Essex, Norfolk, and Yorkshire, would be considerable; but still more would they be in Lincolnshire, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, and Northamptonshire, now most of them inland counties, since here there was formerly a wide expanse of waters, which separated the Icenian kingdom from that of Cunobeline, and gave a distinctive name to a portion of the former people, of Icenii-Coritani. More to the north, the estuaries of the Ouse to the east, and those of the Deva westwardly, divided even more completely the Icenii from the Brigantes. The above natural divisions, we need not say, are now much effaced, and hardly suggest the idea of national boundaries.

It is, however, necessary to remark that, as well as receding, the sea also in places advances, so that, in the lapse of time, there is a double operation going on: increase in some places, and diminution in others. The wearing away of the coast by the waves is frequently the most difficult of the two to account for, since it has sometimes taken place where the sea has afterwards retired for many miles. Thus the causes of it are of course special and peculiar. We shall treat of the two contrasting orders of things in the ensuing pages: both the accession of alluvial lands by the sea's retrogression, and the opposite effect, the wearing away the coast by its advance, beginning with the former phenomenon.

One of the most remarkable features then in Kent, is the retirement of the sea since the time of the Romans, by which apparently scarcely less than a fifteenth part of the whole county has been added to it, and a tenth as regards fertility and value; such tracts generally being of the richest and finest quality. These surprising changes have chiefly taken place in the isles of Thanet and Oxney, Romney Marsh, and the estuaries of the principal rivers: in short, in those quarters in which the operative cause has been most in activity. They will be so treated of here as to illustrate, as far as possible, historical events connected with the former state of this part of the island,

including Cæsar's expeditions: also they will be made available for explaining parts of the Itinerary of Antoninus. And that these changes of the water-margin have taken place since the time of the Romans, there is historical or other evidence to shew.

First, and principally, the agent in effecting these wonders has been the sediment of the rivers constantly deposited through a long course of ages, assisted by the perpetual drift of shingle and other material of the sea from the westward, to which this part of the island is subject, influenced by the prevailing south-west winds. This moving mass is, in fact, a very powerful agent, as we shall soon have further occasion to mention. Agriculture, which in every country advances along with other arts of civilization, has also contributed, ploughed lands increasing the silt and sullage of streams; and again, improved drainage in upland districts, and new water-courses formed, give a much freer vent for their contents to be carried down to the flats and shallows at the mouths of rivers, where the motion of the waters becoming languid, deposits ensue. Heavy storms suddenly throwing up bars, and raising many thousand loads of the shingle, to which we have alluded, or ooze of the sea, often impede the exit of such rivers as have not a large volume of water, or a strong current, or a direct course, and cause them to flow by a devious and obstructed channel to the ocean; entering it, perhaps, through some opening of the coast which was remote from its original place of junction.

The shingle is composed chiefly of flint stones washed out of chalk. Its original source has been considered very doubtful, some placing it beyond the Land's End: however, as there is a large detached tract of chalk at and about Bolt Head, between Plymouth and Dartmouth, there seems no occasion for such a supposition. The first great collection of it is at Chesil Bank, near Portland, where it forms a large mound. There is not only a current up the Channel from the westward, but this narrow sea is in the shape of a tunnel, with the large end in a direction favourable to receive the swell occasioned by the south-westerly gales, and thus to cause it to come in with greater violence. In regard to the current spoken of, it is not intended to assign it as being of itself a moving force of shingle, yet it

must contribute a forcible impression to the more immediate agents, as will be further noticed at a subsequent page.

While thus the new outlet forms for a time a free exit for the waters, the sea is apt to leave the former bay or inlet into which the river disembogued in its original course; which now, in due time, tends to become dry land, passing through the preparatory state of the morass. The hand of man comes in to hasten the process by embanking portions of the marshy flats left in this condition, and thus diminishing the action of the waters of the ocean, and causing further obstructions. All these effects are, of course, more obvious where rivers flow into narrow straits, or have confined outlets, as was the case with the two Kentish rivers, the Stour and Rother. Hence, in the result, tracts of great magnitude have been formed; and hence the wide expanse, which was anciently sea, has become, to the extent of some hundred thousands of acres, farms and corn fields.

But agriculture is so powerful an agent in producing the foregoing results, that we must still further amplify upon it. In the case of a region entirely covered with wood: in its original, natural state of forest, the rivers will not only flow with clear and limpid streams,—for experience will show that waters which issue from woods, bogs, or mosses, are not turbid,—but will flow with a more constant volume of water, not so exhausted in summer, or swollen in winter. This follows because woods are better recipients for rains than other lands, and from the circumstance that evaporation does not take place so rapidly from them. Naturalists have shown that bogs and peat-mosses result necessarily from wood lands, and afford a copious and permanent supply of water to the springs originating from them.

When the woods are removed, the doing so is attended with the usual train of results. There is no longer the same condensation of the atmosphere going on; the effect of the high hills and mountains in producing moisture is partially lost; and the winds exercise more completely their evaporating power. Thus the soil is desiccated to a certain degree, and becomes incapable of originating the slender thread of water, the first germ of the rivulet as

the rivulets united are of the river, when it is first called a river, in the upper part of its course.

Numerous cases in point might be brought forward. To this cause the present great want of water at the Cape de Verde islands is attributed, the trees there having formerly been destroyed for fire-wood. In America, in the state of Kentucky, many brooks are now dry in summer which formerly used to have an abundant supply at that season; and in New Jersey many streams have disappeared, as it is said: which, in both cases, is attributed to removing the woods, as we may find noticed in Bullar's *Azores* (8vo., 1841, vol. ii. p. 11). A similar effect, in that quarter of the world, had been before recorded, many years ago, in Kalm's *Travels*. Trees act as condensers of fogs and dews, especially evergreens. White, in his *History of Selborne*, pp. 228, 30, calls them perfect alembics, *i.e.* distilling vessels, and adduces several instances of the copious supply of water they produce.

Say that, in their original state, the rivers of the county discharged a far greater volume of water than in modern times, and in a more equable stream, and not loaded with their present customary mass of sediment, and we have at once a reason afforded us why the outlets were deep, and clear of obstructions, and supplied convenient harbours for ships. This they did; and in places where now the very mention that such was the case occasions surprise, and almost incredulity. Had the country remained one entire forest, it is presumable that these havens would have continued commodious for navigation to the present day. The agriculture of the ancient Britons, imperfect as it was, commenced the transformation; but in the time of the Saxons, who brought a great breadth into cultivation under the plough, the causes in action must have proceeded at an accelerated pace, and, being continued down to our times, have produced the effects of which we are now speaking. The reader must be reminded of the usual turbid nature of the drainage from arable lands; nor should the great amount of soil frequently washed away *en masse* from such parts of them as are overflowed by winter's floods pass unnoticed, or the occasional incident of portions of rivers' banks falling in. Earth in solution, as mixed with the waters of streams, though it may not

reach the exterior outlet in one flood, yet, if deposited as sediment at the bottom of the river or rivulet, is liable to be moved forward by subsequent ones, and ultimately carried to its destination.

We are accustomed to consider the receding of the sea as comparatively a gradual operation ; and so it is without doubt during most part of its progress : but, when reaching a certain point, circumstances may occasion it to leave large tracts very suddenly. The following extract from one of our public journals illustrates the case in point. It is thus : “The *Phare de Rochelle* states that the sea is receding so rapidly from the Bay of Bourg Neuf, that the remains of an English ship of war, mounting sixty-four guns, which was lost on an oyster bank called Les Retraites des Œuvres, whilst in the pursuit of a French ship in 1752 (1762), is now to be found in the midst of a cultivated plain. In calculating the depth of water where this vessel struck, with the present level, it will be found that the depth of the sea has diminished at least fifteen feet.” (*Standard newspaper*, February 18th, 1841.)

It has been suggested that the beds of all rivers have been raised to a higher level since times of antiquity. This can scarcely be controverted ; for it is not to be supposed but that more detritus of stone and of other solid materials must be deposited from time to time at the bottom of streams, than their currents can carry away ; and hence a tendency to their being raised. Together with their bottoms, the whole level of their waters is of course also raised. From this cause many of the streets in our towns and cities appear now to have been originally built in situations so low, comparatively, to adjoining rivers as to excite surprise ; and noble buildings like Westminster Hall have been constructed where, in modern times, common floods could enter them. As late as about the year 1800, the floor of this great national edifice was raised about twelve feet. Before that period the waters entered it in high floods, and persons rowed about it in boats. It may corroborate the above observation relative to the former level of bottoms of rivers, to note that the bed of the Medway, near Maidstone, is ascertained to consist of layers of rolled materials to the thickness of sixteen or seventeen feet, or more, before the Weald clay, the original bottom,

is reached. The cause of this important structure being thus circumstanced,—and there are numerous other nearly similar cases of ancient buildings near streams,—must be referred to the waters of the rivers being at a higher level at the present time than when they were built. This raising of the beds of rivers, and consequently of the level of their waters, it is plain from the results, has not been sufficient to prevent the accession of the vast tracts by the sides of their streams, formerly overflowed, of which we are now particularly treating; which again can be satisfactorily accounted for. The levels of the former submerged lands have been gradually raised, in the lapse of years, *in a still greater ratio*; but in cities and towns, where the counterbalancing deposits are not made, the sites of ancient buildings by the sides of rivers become low by comparison: and this solves the question.

Some time had elapsed after the foregoing observations on the progressive rise of the beds of rivers were penned, when the following remarks, written, as it should seem, by a practical man, appeared in an ably conducted weekly periodical, the *Builder*, to whose pages science and research are often indebted for much valuable information; and the said remarks so completely bear out the foregoing principles that they are here inserted.

RISE OF THE THAMES. I have noticed, for nearly half a century, the gradual and regular rise of the waters of the river Thames. My attention was first drawn to it by finding that extreme high tides were not preceded, nor succeeded, by similar tides. These were recorded by the watermen of the Westminster Horseferry, by notches cut by them on a post there, ere the post was removed when the street was raised. I now observe that professional men, in reporting on some localities, such as Westminster, say that the sewers there were originally too low. But it appears that the said sewers were high enough when they were first made, but are not so now, owing to the rise of the river. It appears that I am the first person who has noticed a circumstance so universally, continuously evident. The architects of modern as well as ancient buildings were not aware of it, as will be too plainly seen by referring to the floor of Westminster Hall, the upper line of the starlings of old London bridge, the gate of Lambeth Palace, the York Water Gate, Adelphi, the level of the wharfs there, etc. The ground line, or plinth, of the palatial houses of Parliament is already below the level of extreme high tides. The difference of the rise of the highest tide before the Parliament houses were burnt down, to the last highest tide, viz. in December 1845, is but ten inches. The preceding highest tide was in October 1841. These two tides were very carefully noticed at the Fox-under-the-Hill, Adelphi, the people there being up at the late hours both these tides occurred at:

the difference was exactly one inch. The lines of elevation are painted in the tap-room there.—*Correspondent of the Builder*, January 1847.

We may subjoin another paragraph, from the same periodical, to the former one, the subject of which is the banks of the Thames. We should, perhaps, premise that we do not concur in its views as to the antiquity of the present banks of the Thames, judging them to have been formed, not in the earlier part of the Middle Ages, but when that period was pretty well advanced.

THE ANCIENT EMBANKMENT OF THE THAMES. The embankment of the river, a most gigantic work, was, although we have no particular account, executed, or at least directed, by the Romans. Few of the thousands who enter the Thames think that the great stream on which vessels of the largest size are afloat, is, in fact, an artificial canal, raised in many places considerably above the level of the surrounding country. It is a wonderful work; and it is singular that we should have no record of its first execution. The artificial bank of the river extends, either on one side of the river or the other, almost from the Nore to Richmond in Surrey; and some judgment may be formed of its magnitude by the difficulty of repairing a breach made by a high and violent tide at Dagenham in Essex. On this occasion (1707), a breach was made in this bank of the river, of one hundred yards wide, and nearly twenty feet deep, by which alarming accident one thousand acres of rich land in Dagenham Level were overflowed, and nearly one hundred and twenty acres of land washed into the Thames, forming a sandbank nearly a mile in length, that extended over one half of the channel. After several unsuccessful attempts, Captain Perry, who had been employed in similar works by the Czar Peter, in Russia, at an enormous expense, and with much difficulty, completed a wall.—*Builder*, Aug. 1855.

Modern geologists entertain the opinion of the surfaces of large tracts of land in various countries being raised from having been acted upon by forces underneath; of which they bring proofs and instances. No such agency seems required to account for the receding of the sea from those parts from which it has retired in Kent, ordinary causes appearing sufficient, especially as the gained land has a flat, alluvial appearance, and shows no convexity of surface.

Dr. Wallis, in the early times of the Royal Society, published some observations applying to the changes which have taken place on the south-eastern coast (Nos. 272, 275, and 276, of the *Philosophical Transactions*), which are drawn up according to the imperfect knowledge of geology of that period, and consequently are of the less utility.

An extensive scene of the alterations of the coast is in

the ancient channel of the sea, between the Isle of Thanet and the other parts of the county. Here was formerly a perfectly navigable strait, and which remained so, there is little doubt, in the time of the Romans; and in short it is, in some respects, proved that it did, as the port of Ebbsfleet, on the north shore of the strait, is mentioned soon after the Romans left, in the *Saxon Chronicle* and Ethelward's *Chronicle*, by its name, Wippeds-fleet, and stated to be the place where Hengist landed; while the port of Richborough and the fortress of Reculver show its extent on the south shore. According to the authority of Bede, who died in the year 735, it had decreased, in his time, to the width of three furlongs; but continued still navigable to the Norman conquest, as we find it recorded in history that Earl Godwin about that time sailed through it with a fleet. It began, soon after this period, to be called "The Wantsume", an appellation derived, as many suppose, from the deficiency of the water, *wansian*, in Anglo-Saxon, implying to diminish, and *wanung* a diminution: hence *wan-sum*, in the same language, might have been diminishing, adjectively; and if this, the common etymology, be substantiated, it follows, of course, that *ea* or *eye*, the Anglo-Saxon for water, was added, and afterwards dropped.

We may advert for a moment to the derivation of the word, which is doubtless one of some difficulty. *Wände sumps*, in modern German would be "Marsh walls", the pronunciation of which, with no great variation, would much approximate to the name Wantsume. This, as we have no trace of the word *ea* or *eye* remaining, may excite a suspicion that the terms were similar in the Anglo-Saxon, and that this sea-channel was so named when in its diminished state two lines of embankments were formed on either side, and thus supplied the new feature which became the origin of its name afterwards. But were this so, confirmation cannot be found in our present Anglo-Saxon lexicons, which give neither of the two words, perhaps from being imperfect. However, to continue.

This ancient thoroughfare of the sea, whatever may be the meaning of its appellation, was now reduced to its narrowest limits as a channel; but, according to accounts, boats and small vessels continued to pass through it till

about the reign of Edward IV (see Twine, *De Rebus Albioniciis*, 12mo., 1590, p. 25). Concurrent with this, the passage across the water at Sarre from the mainland to Thanet was accustomed to be used as a ford. See the ancient *Map* formerly belonging to the abbey of St. Augustine, Canterbury, engraved in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. i, p. 84, edit. 1655, in which a monk is represented as carried across on the shoulders of a countryman, whilst a ferry-boat near transports another passenger. Subsequent to this the sea has been entirely shut out, and the whole has become a fine level of meadows, intersected only by marsh ditches.

The Stour, the principal river of East Kent, was a large estuary in the time of the Romans; hence it is affirmed that the name "Stour", i.e. *Æstuarium*, was derived, which seems a very probable supposition. Fordwich on this river is now situated upon it in the part where the stream is very shallow, and in the middle of extensive flats and meadows. In short, it wears no appearance of having been a seaport, and a commodious haven as it once was. We know this sufficiently, as this particular town was in the confederacy or corporation of the Cinque-ports: not, indeed, as among the number of the five principal ones, but as a member of Sandwich, and as such enjoyed all the privileges and immunities which were hence derivable. Some think it was the Portus Trutulensis to which Agricola's ships returned after circumnavigating the island (Tacitus, *Agricola*, c. 38), under the idea that the name had allusion to the species of fish, the trout, for which the place is now so noted (see Fisher's *Kentish Traveller's Companion*, 12mo., 1794, p. 246). This derivation is, however, attended with the objection, that it is evident that fresh-water fish could not have existed in the waters here at the time the estuary of the sea flowed up to this place. Dr. Batteley again thought that the Portus Trutulensis was the outlet of the river at Richborough, in fact the eastern part of the Wantsume Strait: and cites an authority which gives some colour for supposing that the name *tructula* might have been applied to salmon as well as trout. (See his *Antiquitates Rutupinæ*, 4to., 1745, p. 30). To continue with our subject: Domesday Book shows that this said town of Ford-

wich was next to Rochester in importance at the time of that survey: for enumerating the burgesses or mariners of the cities and towns of Kent, it gives the following scale: Canterbury, 531 burgesses; Dover, 420 burgesses or mariners; Sandwich, 415 mariners; Hythe, 231 ditto; Romney, 156 ditto; Rochester, 114 ditto; Forewic, 90 ditto; Seasalter, 45 ditto. We may now add that, though it has still a corporation, it is reduced with the decay of the port to a mere village.

Canterbury may be considered to have been a seaport in Roman times, though history be silent on that subject. The foundations of the present city are thirteen or fourteen feet below the original ground. There is, therefore, a great accumulation of soil in the town, and not less exists in the surrounding levels, once, like those of Fordwich, occupied by water. There is about this city ample space and dimensions where a harbour *might* have been, and indeed we may say with some confidence, where a harbour *was* in ancient times. In proof of this, to say nothing of the said port of Fordwich, only two miles below on the river, we may allege the instance of the anchor of a ship found at Broomsdowne, two miles above. (See Harris' *History of Kent*.) This last place seems to have been near the small village of Thanington, opposite Tunford and Bigberry, and the estuary itself may be considered to have extended as high as French's Mill in Chilham, near the present railway station.

But the Stour had a branch, now a mere rivulet. This was called the Lesser Stour, and joined the larger river of the same name at Stourmouth, a place so called. Now, to show the very great alterations which have taken place, we may note that according to Philipot, in his *Villare Cantianum*, or History of Kent, as we may otherwise call it, this was also navigable in the reign of Edward III as high as Bekesbourne, which is near Barham, and was a member of the port of Hastings, and was bound to furnish shipping.

As regards the Medway, there was a navigable communication with the Thames through Yantlet Creek for boats and other small vessels much within a century since. In 1824, the city of London tried again to open the navigation, which was resisted by the proprietors of

lands concerned, and there was in consequence a law-suit between the parties (*Rex v. Montague*, etc.), in which it appears it was navigable till 1760, and even ten years later. These legal discussions thus afford some record of the gradual loss of this strait or branch of the two estuaries of the Thames and Medway, which, though not of the same notoriety as the extinction of the former maritime thoroughfare of the Wantsume, must have resulted from the same obvious causes of which we now treat.

The reasons for resisting the opening this communication between the Thames and Medway, it may be inferred were the expenses that were anticipated of maintaining a bridge, and increased outlay on embankments. Two editions of the trial were printed; and the city of London as plaintiffs, being nonsuited, and a new trial refused, the question is not likely to be raised again in the same form.

As to certain portions of the marshes of the lower parts of the Medway, they seem to have existed in the shape of levels and marshes even in Roman times. Our arguments do not suppose that the marshes of estuaries are all modern accretions: on the contrary, we suppose some were ancient; and we must here note a position in our present inquiries, which affects the question as relates to these ancient levels and low lands by the sides of estuaries not receiving, from some cause, alluvial additions in modern times. They, it is evident, must comparatively become lower still; for as the beds of all rivers tend to rise, as we have shown at a shortly preceding page, it will follow that such lands will become, relatively to those rivers, in a more submerged position than they were at first. Under this head we place the marshes at Upchurch, near Sittingbourne, with their supposed Roman pottery district, the contents of which have been described in the *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, vol. iv, pp. 379-381.

Again, bearing the foregoing distinction in mind, the reader will not be surprised to hear that, in other places of this lower part of the right bank of the Medway, accumulation has progressed to a considerable extent, in modern times, in a species of contrast to what has occurred in the Upchurch district. In this quarter, the estuary of Stan-

gate Creek, an inlet of the Medway, formerly came up to the Nunnery at Newington, according to the tradition of the inhabitants, though it does not now reach within two miles of the place. This is but a few miles from the pottery district before mentioncd; and in this case sediment appears to have been brought down from the uplands.

An able communication in the *Athenæum* for August 23rd, 1851, pp. 905-6, may be consulted for various points of information connected with the present state of the lower part of the Medway. According to the writer of the article, the Upnor Reach of this river is filling up with silt and ooze very fast, there appearing a tendency in the river to form its main channel through St. Mary's Creek, an adjoining minor branch. Numerous other details are given, which the limits of the present observations do not admit us to notice: indeed, they are more particularly connected with the navigation of the river. A government report of the state of the Medway, it may be added, was published about the year 1822.

Higher up the Medway, at Strood, nearly the whole of the present town is built upon ground gained from the estuary, though now much raised. At this place, the road leading from Temple Farm to Frinsbury, the length of a mile or more, seems once to have skirted along not far remote from the strand of the river, though the same is now retired to some considerable distance. On this road the church stands, which accordingly must one time have been near the water's side; and the river having once spread to such an extent in this direction, gives somewhat more than half a mile for its former width, that is, three times its present width. This state of things we must refer to the time of the Romans, the coins of that people having been found plentifully near the said road, in the field towards the Temple Farm, as learnedly described in vol. xxix. of the *Archæologia*, p. 217, by the able antiquary, Mr. C. Roach Smith. Besides the coins, some other objects of antiquity came to light, which, with the coins, are partly in possession of H. Wickham, Esq., and S. Steele, Esq., of Strood; the former, in particular, having an elegant Medusa's head in jet found there. While this is the case with this spot near the Temple Farm, at the same time there is no evidence of Roman relics being found in

the town of Strood itself. On making the Strood and Maidstone line of railway, in the present year, 1856, the greatest difficulty was experienced in the Fair Meadow, at the former place, from the spongy nature of the subsoil, which proved more swampy than was expected.

Up the river, from Strood and its environs, the estuary extended anciently as high as Maidstone: indeed, the tide-way penetrated some miles higher, between the narrow banks. Beyond this, both at Tunbridge and Yalding, there appear to have been several fresh-water lakes, on the sides of which those two places were built. Nature, in subsequent times, has formed this chain of lakes into a series of levels and meadows, the intermediate state having been that of morass. The name of the place, Yalding, denotes that, at the time the place was built, or the appellation given, the transmutation was then in progress; and the name implies that at that time it stood on the "Old Ing", or meadow; the environs, as we may understand, being marsh or water.

But we have a rather particular illustration of this part of the river, in the finding of several canoes of the aborigines in the year 1720. These were dug up in some of the low grounds on the line of the Medway, above Maidstone. They were in the primitive form of those used by savage nations, being each formed out of the trunk of a single tree hollowed by fire; and one of them was so well preserved as to be used for a boat for some time afterwards. (See a work entitled *The Description of England*, vol. v, p. 128.)

Another illustration of the ancient state of the Medway at Maidstone was afforded by the examination of a Roman villa discovered at the north end of the town, on the banks of the river, in the spring of the year 1844. (See vol. ii. of the *Journal of the British Arch. Assoc.* for 1847, p. 88.) The plaster of this was found to be mixed with chopped reed instead of straw. The lowlands, therefore, in the neighbourhood of Maidstone were marshes in the times of the Romans, instead of meadows, and produced their growths of reeds. There are no reed-beds at present within four or five miles of the place: those highest up the river, now met with, being at Snodland.

Recent explorations have fully confirmed the views here laid down respecting the Medway alluvial flats. When

the Great Buckland meadows were bored for the purposes of the atmospheric railway, about the year 1848, the bed of the formerly wider dilated waters was struck upon, in various places, at the depth of eight or nine feet, which proved that those now pasturage levels had been once nothing else than what might be termed water-flankings, or side lakes of the ancient river. Another instance was likewise presented, when a deep cutting for laying piping for water was made through the Maidstone Fair Meadow, in the year 1852, when the bed of a similar ancient spreading of the water became visible, though at a less depth.

It may be mentioned here, as applicable to rivers, that the alluvial flats at their sides become much higher than the usual level of the rivers themselves. This may possibly appear somewhat of a paradox, but it is caused from their receiving the sediment of the highest floods. When a shallow lake or estuary is filled up, the first effect of the deposit is to confine the current to a narrow channel. The accumulation of sediment can only then proceed on each side as floods occur; but in proportion as by length of time the flats are thus heightened, the floods again tear out at places a wider channel.

It is in reference to this that the people of Lincolnshire complain that their fens were drained many centuries too soon. By confining their rivers between high and steep banks the spreading of the waters, and consequently this operation of nature in heightening the flats has been prevented, and they remain at a lower level than they would otherwise have done. The nature of the sediment of rivers must differ in the analysis of its component parts according to the strata through which they flow. That of the Medway forms a yellow loam.

In the Thames, the increase of the levels and secession of the river must, from the wide expanse it formerly covered, have been considerable, as the cliffs at the place called Cliffe, now two or three miles from the water's edge, plainly show. At Crayford was an estuary divided into two branches. At Southfleet another, up which Swein's flotilla sailed in the Danish wars; and another at Deptford. These were probably commodious havens for the ships of those days, but are now all become firm land, except that they admit their respective streams to pass.

The estuaries of the Cray and Darenth each extended respectively about two miles above Crayford and Dartford, varying in breadth from half to a quarter of a mile; and it is observable that, in the entry of Dartford in Domesday Book, it is said to have "two hythes" or ports. The capacity of the estuary at Southfleet is testified from the circumstance of its receiving Swein's fleet in the eleventh century; while that of Deptford, the outlet of the Ravensbourne rivulet, appears to have been much the smallest. For the embankment of the Plumstead Marshes in the thirteenth century, see Lambard's *History of Kent*, 8vo., 1826, p. 396.

However, but a small part of the alterations of that river belong to our present purpose. Of that portion of which we do treat, we are not without some illustration. The poor-rate books of the parish of Shorne, on the Thames, a village near Gravesend, it appears, are still extant, and comprise the early period between the years 1593 and 1616. These mention eighty acres of salt marsh in the parish, whilst now there are only eight, the rest being transformed to meadow or arable land,—a proof of the continued progress of these changes up to our times.

The minor estuaries above mentioned as forming convenient inlets or harbours for shipping, had probably all of them towns built upon them in the later part of the Roman times, though possibly not on a large scale. One is said to have been at Southfleet. Considerable extent of foundations have been noticed at Crayford; and there is a town still where was the ancient estuary of Deptford. These, it may be reputed, were all sacked and destroyed by the piratical Saxon or Danish flotillas, and the inhabitants driven off to other parts, or else put to the sword: one or the other of those calamities being no unusual result, in those times, when towns were taken.

We may here continue our notice of the Thames, by way of digression, because, though it may not be strictly the subject intended for discussion, yet illustration will be supplied in some small degree.

For this purpose we may cite the work of Mr. Wren, the son of the celebrated Sir Christopher, who communicates in his *Parentalia*, p. 285, some curious particulars, founded on examinations of the soil during the building

of St. Paul's cathedral by his father. He gives it as the opinion of his father's surveyor that the whole space from Camberwell hill to the hills of Essex had been one continued frith or estuary. He, however, appears to be in error in supposing the hill on which St. Paul's cathedral stands to have been of comparatively recent origin, since, being composed of sand, topped with a thin stratum of clay, it would rather appear to be of tertiary formation, to say nothing of other reasons there may be against his position. Besides, instead of supposing the formation of hills in his estuary during the alluvial period, why does he not admit the previous existence of islands?

His idea, however, of the great extent of ancient estuary about London, now filled up, we may receive, and may fully admit that the Thames has been no exception to that vast amount of alluvial transformation which we have described as taking place in other rivers. Our view of the former state of the Thames is this: that we presume Mr. Wren's ideas in the main correct, but that the existence of the estuary he supposes must have gone back far beyond the time of the sway of the Romans in the island, and been very remote indeed. We must consider the river in the neighbourhood of London to have been already skirted by low lands during the time of their occupation, formed by accretion from the sediment of the water.

Marshes and low grounds, and, indeed, places somewhat desolate, seemed peculiarly to have been chosen by the Romans as the sites of their burying-grounds; hence these ancient marsh or low land borders of the river may be considered as having been occupied by numerous cemeteries of ancient London; and the more so, as we find but few places of their sepulture recorded, in localities which would have been within the suburbs of the ancient city.

The bed of the Thames it is well known is replete with Roman coins and other specimens of the antiquities of that people; as rings, seals, and the like. We find that it has exercised the speculations of some of our most eminent antiquaries to account for their existence in that situation; nor has any one professed to point out a satisfactory reason. In our present inquiry we may possibly be able to assign one, which is comprised in the suggestion that the water margins of which we speak, replete with inter-

ments and abounding consequently with the various objects of funereal deposits, were from time to time washed away into the river, and that their contents became transferred to its bed.

This implies, of course, erosion at various periods of the banks by the stream, which we may have but little difficulty in believing to have taken place, and on which we may offer a brief remark.

An increased velocity of the waters in their course would be partially an agent to effect this, which might take place from inland lakes and shallows filling up by alluvial deposit in the higher parts of the river. Conjoined with this would be alterations in the direction of its current, occasioned by dams made for fishing-wears in parts of the river just above; or possibly by landwalls or embankments, made to reclaim land for agriculture or pasture in the earlier part of the Middle Ages, as attention to cultivation became extended. Under these circumstances, deposits being formed in some places in the immediate contiguity of the great city of the silt or alluvium of the river, and new turns being given to the current of the stream, as has just been alluded to, the old alluvial flats containing the Roman and Roman-British sepulchral interments might be expected to be strongly acted upon. These causes being continued for ages, we may look to the winter floods as having been the actual moving force which has been the means of carrying the former alluvial edgings of the river away, or some of them, and depositing their varied contents, as rings, seals, statuettes, etc., where they are now found, to the wonderment of the present generation, in the bed of the Thames.

The eminent antiquary Mr. C. Roach Smith, whom we had before occasion to mention, noticed this circumstance of the deposit of Roman coins in the Thames in his papers on London Antiquities, printed some years since in the *Archæologia*, and was evidently at a loss for their occurrence there in so large quantities; the cause as above assigned will probably be deemed sufficient by most inquirers, coins being frequent accompaniments of sepulchral deposits. As to other objects: many emblems connected with paganism were no doubt, as usually supposed, committed to the river when the Roman Britons renounced

that creed. The Thames is besides of course the receptacle of numerous things which have been anciently lost in it.

It may be sufficient to have noticed these features connected with the Thames: and we now shift the scene of our inquiries to quite a different quarter, transporting ourselves to the southern confines of Kent and Sussex, and taking for our subject the Rother, one of the principal watercourses of those parts, which appears to have had two names among the Romans, the Rovia in the upper part, and the Lemanis in the lower; and the transformations of the coast connected with this stream will form an interesting part of our research.

This river, then, after having been for some distance the boundary of the two counties above mentioned, and formerly of the two ancient British states, the Cantii and Regni, is supposed in Roman times to have diverted its course to the east, and taking its way under the range of hills, to have flowed out at Lymne. Our evidences for this rest on various points which, on the whole, will leave but little doubt on the subject. The first argument occurs from the *Itinerary* of Antoninus, where, in his Iter ii, the Portus Lemanis would needs appear to be the port of the river Lemana or Lemanis, which last appellation we have for the name of one of the rivers in Britain in Ravennas. Not very different from this we find the name Portus Limneus in Ethelwerd's *Chronicle*, iv, 3, in his annals of the year 893, which seems to imply, the "Port of the river Lemanis", though the same river at the period Ethelwerd mentions, no longer flowed out at Lymne, but had obtained an exit at Romney, intermediate with its present one; which in later times has been transferred still further west.

With respect to the New Romney outlet, the one intended by Ethelwerd, Somner in his *Roman Ports and Forts*, 12mo., 1693, p. 44, has afforded good evidence that it existed as early as Danish times, but perhaps not necessarily to the exclusion of the earlier outlet at Lymne, which might have still continued at that era. Since it first began to flow out at New Romney its course has varied at different times, sometimes passing the isle of Oxney on one side of it, sometimes on the other. At the period spoken of by Somner it came down by the north side of the island, passing by an hamlet called Reading Street, and a few

miles further on, made a turn to the east at Appledore, which was direct in its course for Lymne and at right angles to the other channel to New Romney.

It is to Somner that we are indebted for the information, which is of some moment in our present inquiries, that mention is to be found in ancient records of the Lymne branch of the Rother, now no river at all, as still in existence in the year 820 at the village of Warehorne, at about the distance of three miles from the bend or turning of our river towards Lymne, as may be seen on any map of Kent (*Roman Forts and Ports*, p. 42). Besides this, we have also a mention of the river twenty-nine years before, further on at Ruckinge, which is five miles from the Appledore turning, in the grant of king Cuthred (See Hasted's *History of Kent*). Further than this we cannot trace the course of the ancient stream to its former exit at Lymne, but this appears fully sufficient to corroborate the usually received opinion, which we may regard as having been first suggested to antiquaries by the mention of the Portus Lemanis in the *Itinerary* of Antoninus, as well as being somewhat obvious from the situation of the place.

These details, however, respecting the Rother, and others regarding its former course, have necessarily a connexion with the subject of the ancient and modern condition of Romney Marsh, and are introductory to inquiries relating to the original formation of this very extensive level, which, indeed, with the exception of a few small islands or sandbanks, seems at some former age to have been entirely gained from the sea. Our remarks, then, will partially bear on both topics, namely, the river and its delta, till we direct them more exclusively to the latter. This seems the most natural mode of procedure, the Romney level having manifestly in the first instance originated from the alluvial deposits of the Rother.

Our proofs on this subject can, of course, be principally nothing more than such desultory notices of these operations of nature as may be found casually recorded in legal instruments, or monastic writers, to which Hasted and others have given reference. To these sources we have other additions certainly, and without further preface we may now continue, with such materials as appear most relative.

As the Archbishops of Canterbury and the Church at that place were the principal proprietors of the soil in Romney marsh, so the portions of it which they from time to time wrested from the waters shew the increase of firm land from mere marsh, and thus make a good comment on its supposed origin. These progressive additions are technically called "Innings", and under this head we may refer to the recorded Innings of Becket, primate from the year 1162 to 1180; Baldwyn, from 1184 to 1190; Boniface, from 1243 to 1270; and Peckham, from 1279 to 1292. We say nothing of the Innings of private persons, as of Elderton and Scadway and others, because we cannot assign their dates. Those of the archbishops, however, which were in various parts of the marsh, shew the gradual shutting out of the sea which went on from age to age. Were we to say no more, it would seem naturally to follow that when the whole process of the inclosure of this district was completed, the Rother, whose course under the hills was somewhat devious, might become impeded under this new feature of embankment. Not, however, that those laborious works of the archbishops and others were the first undertakings of the kind, for prior ones are presumable, and even so early as the time of the Romans. All preceding ones must have been very partial it is clear, but these we may understand comprehended nearly all the unbanked space that was left.

In relation to this point, it seems somewhat surprising how little of the actual breadth of Romney Marsh was embanked even so late as the middle of the eighth century. In a *Charter* of Offa king of Mercia, granting, in the year 774, to Janibert archbishop of Canterbury, what appears to be the northern part of the present parish of Lydd, it is described as having the sea to the north-east and west of it (see *Roman Ports and Forts*, p. 50). Let the reader consult a map of Kent, and it will be seen that there was then a breadth of water to the westward, some miles wide, between Lydd and the main land. This is the most striking documentary evidence we can procure of the transition state of Romney Marsh in the early part of the Middle Ages. It was on the strength of this, probably, that Twine in his *De Rebus Albionicis*, p. 31, grounded his observation that Romney Marsh was once "Altum pe-

lagus et mare velivolum." That is, a deep and navigable sea.

Offa's grant will also cause us fully to understand the Saxon name of this district, "Rumenea", *i. e.*, broad water, implying the wide expanse of that element collected here, which afterwards became land (see *Ports and Forts*, p. 63, and Dr. Bosworth's *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*). This is the correct derivation, which has nothing to do with the Romans, as some have supposed.

We now have to touch on what appears to be the great problem of our inquiries, the formation of a tract of alluvial land jutting out into the sea and lying at a level so extremely low. It is at present, indeed, embanked; but before it was embanked it must almost have laid at the mercy of the waves, which at times must have covered it entirely. This is striking to beholders: and we need only cite Marshall's *Agriculture of the South of England* on this point. He tells us (vol. i, p. 358) that such is the fact; that the elevation of this inclosed space is much below the level of the spring tides; and that he saw himself a tide that rose several feet higher than the surface of the land. We can only attempt to solve this question as follows.

It being conceded that the ocean in this quarter was originally shallow, and that a long line of shoals from the first extended along the side of the Marsh which faces France, it may easily be conceived that, in primeval times, some part of the enormous mass of shingle which comes up the British Channel from the westward may have lodged against the southernmost of these shoals and formed there a barrier against the waves. This being done, the progress of the beach having received a check at this point, where prodigious quantities of it are still to be seen accumulated, it would follow, as a matter of course, that the beach would force itself forward in the direction in which it would find least resistance. Arrested, in fact, at this point (Dungeness) it would divide into two drifts of this stony material, whereof one would skirt along the line of shoals we have mentioned till it joined the opposite Kentish coast at Hythe: the other, driven on by the violence of the waves, would have gone in nearly a right angle towards Rye, where it would likewise effect a junction or a close proximity with the coast. There would have been thus a

species of large triangular lagoon inclosed from the sea, the two sides being severally about fourteen and ten miles long.

Shingle, we know, cast up by the sea forms a high bank, and the natural barriers we have spoken of would have kept out the exterior waves, the interior basin consequently would have been but little agitated; a state of things known to be favourable to accumulation and deposit.

There was only wanting a large river to disembody in this bay for the purposes of depositing alluvium and to form a delta. Such a river there was in the Rother, which had to find a passage to the sea through it, and we now see the effect of the agency of this river in forming so large a tract of land. We are aware that a species of objection may be urged that portions of Romney Marsh are not alluvial but are patches of a sandy nature: but, in answer, these, which are towards the outskirts and bordering to the sea, are to be considered as part of the original sandbanks we have supposed, which, with vast ranges of shingle added, have formed the ocean boundary of this tract.

The above appear to be the most probable causes. Romney Marsh was never left by the sea; as were the banks away, the sea would not leave it now, but go over the greatest part of it. Neither would it seem to have been originally a tract of marshes projecting out towards the open sea, which might be thought contrary to usual experience. The accumulation of beach which constituted the outward barrier of Romney Marsh, and which has formed a deposit several miles broad at Dungeness, still continues. At the point at Dungeness a light-house was built in 1792, one hundred yards from the sea at low water, as specified on a tablet in the building. The Commissioners for reporting on harbours of refuge have recorded in their report, that in the year 1844 they found that the distance had increased to a hundred and ninety yards. The existence of the tablet in the light-house implies the increase had before been progressive, or suspected of being so; or else why was it placed there? and if, then, the producing cause be in activity now, there is no reason why it may not have been so for thousands of years past, and have originated the effects which we have just been endeavouring to explain.

This may suffice: and we have, as far as regards this once submerged tract, only to give a few further facts and particulars to make the reader better acquainted with such features of the locality as illustrate the points which have been brought to notice.

We may first notice a circumstance which alone furnishes a considerable illustration of the formation of Romney Marsh, namely, the visible remains of the former water channel of the Rother in its ancient eastern course to Lymne, running under the hills along the shore from Appledore in direction of Kennardington, Bonnington, etc. The water, indeed, is gone, but the hollow it once occupied still exists. We may add to this the common remark, that the whole inner border of the marsh, that is, the line of the Military Canal and of the said ancient channel of the river is obviously lower, as is plain to the most casual observer, than the parts which are more towards the sea. Along this lower part it is that trees are frequently found in a high state of preservation, so much so, that they can be cut up and used for fencing. The finding these trees would seem to be connected with the ancient channel, for they may be judged to have been floated down from the higher parts of the Rother in ages long since past, in the time of the Estuary. Otherwise, which may be perhaps equally probable, they may have grown on the sides of the river Lemanis, when its alluvial banks were first formed, and afterwards have been uprooted and overturned by storms on the rich loose soil on which they grew, and so gradually become submerged beneath the mud and waters of the stream.

We must again revert to other circumstances respecting the Rother. We have noticed at a preceding page, that having originally flowed out at Lymne, it seems more particularly to have had its exit at New Romney in the Middle Ages. The former embankments on each side of the river in this quarter are still remaining, and are called "the Rhie Walls". Here we may also add that Old Romney, the original harbour, seems to have begun to decay very early, as Somner in his *Roman Ports and Forts*, p. 38, informs us that the name New Romney occurs about the year 1150. Neither of them are now seaports. That the Rother was also called the Limeney in the Middle

Ages we find mentioned in Somner's *Ports and Forts*, p. 40.

When the sea was originally shut out of Romney Marsh, the level of its surface seems to have been nearly that of common high water: but the inner border, or the parts adjacent to the Military Canal, having a less elevation, as before observed, engineering authorities tell us that, were the obstruction of the embankments removed, there would still be a considerable depth of water before Lymne Castle, and particularly at high tides: much greater indeed than would be produced on such occasions noticed by Mr. Marshall, in his *Agriculture of the South of England* (see p. 265 *ante*), in other parts of the Marsh.

We are not informed what circumstance occasioned the loss of the ancient port of Lymne as a harbour: we have a pretty strong presumption, however, that it was shoals and shallows forming in its own river, and nothing else. It was not obstructions at the mouth of the outlet by shingle, as the haven and ship-station originally connected with the place were first removed to West Hythe, and afterwards to Hythe itself, which last continued a haven till about two hundred years ago, since which time it has been completely choked up with shingle. The sea is now at a distance of a mile or two, and a great part of the shingle so intervening has been converted into land.

The remarkable landslips at Lymne and the neighbourhood which have taken place in times past, though they have acted much on the remaining walls and towers, yet have neither been instrumental in blocking up the ancient harbour lying before the fortress, or in altering the line of the coast. The effect of the landslips, which are of an extraordinary character, is mostly within the boundary of the shore; and they have not taken place in the memory of man, nor, one instance excepted, to any considerable extent, it is believed, for many centuries. The writer of these pages communicated their former existence to Mr. C. Roach Smith, in a manuscript he lent him, who has made much use of the fact in his *Account of Lymne*, as also from him has Mr. Wright in several of his publications.

Near the town of Hythe, persons have occasionally covered portions of the flat beach lying inside the Martello towers with earth, conveyed thither from the nearest places

where it could be obtained in order to make the space so gained cultivable land. An immense quantity of earth being required to make the layer of sufficient thickness, it has been found on repeated trials that this formation of new ground cannot be effected at a less charge than £200 per acre, and then the land is not of the first quality. As there is a vent for the beach for the repair of roads by the Military canal, the same carts which convey it can be employed to transport back the earth. Mr. Shipdem of Hythe continues this process to a certain extent.

The destruction of New Romney was not like that of Hythe, gradual, but ensued by a sudden catastrophe. We find it recorded in various chronicles that a most violent storm occurred in the year 1248, in the reign of Edward the First, the action of which was very great on the mouth of the Rother, at New Romney, so much so, that it stopped it up. The agency of nature has never reopened the ancient channel, and since that time it has flowed at Rye, outside of Romney Marsh altogether. This last place, indeed, has become a harbour of importance and taken the place of New Romney.

We might here quit the subject of this alluvial level of Romney Marsh ; there are places, however, in the neighbourhood in which the accretion has been remarkable.

Going higher up the Rother : Oxney, at first an island, afterwards became a peninsula, being joined to the main land by an isthmus at its north-west end, as it is described in maps before the year 1640 (see Dr. Wallis' *Paper in the Philosophical Transactions*). After which the main channel for the Rother was formed on the west side of it, where it now continues. Appledore, on its north-east side, we know was frequented by the Danes as a harbour.

Further up is placed Reading Street, thought by Philipot to have been the ancient Anderida, but where, at present, there are no remains of a fortress : however, Reading Street certainly once stood on the shores of an estuary. Even higher than this, Small Hythe in Tenterden, styled in old writings a town, was a sea-port ; and there may be reason to suppose that there were some features of a maritime complexion connected with the place even as late as the year 1509 ; as in that year there was a faculty issued to bury persons who had been shipwrecked in the chapel yard.

In comment on this, even higher still, a mile to the west of Oxney, near a place called Knell's Dam, a submerged vessel was actually found in the year 1823: and some few details of this will be necessary, as it so strikingly illustrates the primeval state of the coast.

It had lain buried in a deserted branch of the Rother, between Knell's Dam and Potman's Bridge, about a mile east-south-east of an ancient fort in Newenden, called Castle Hill, by some erroneously supposed the citadel of the city of Anderida, which made so obstinate resistance to the Saxons. The locality of the discovery was either on, or adjoined lands now of Virgil Pomfret, Esq. of Tenterden. It excited much interest when found, and great numbers went to see this great curiosity. But the discussions respecting it may be said to have been chiefly confined to conversations among the beholders, or to the newspapers; antiquaries having neglected a sufficient record: and but for a fortunate circumstance, we should in the end have been left in great doubt as to the actual antiquity of the vessel. Having for a time created a very great sensation, a reaction took place, and a disposition prevailed to consider that the public had been imposed upon. It now became reported that it was merely an old barge dug out, which had been sunk to stop the channel; and the workmen were alleged to confess that they had procured the skulls found with it from a neighbouring churchyard. Had not the lords of the Admiralty taken an interest and sent down a gentleman, Mr. W. Macpherson Rice, minutely to examine it and to make his report, this apparently mere invention would now have become difficult to refute; but his account being printed in the twentieth volume of the *Archæologia*, and his drawings deposited among those of the Society of Antiquaries, there can no longer be any doubt. It was not, however, Danish, as at first thought, but rather appeared to be of the date of Edward III, or Henry V. Four *Accounts* were published of it. One of sixteen pages, with a plate, in 1823; Mr. Rice's; and two in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, in the year 1824. The last, however, hardly profess to be *Accounts*. Many of the following details are from a gentleman who lived near the spot, and who saw it very shortly after it was found.

The usual particulars recorded respecting it are very commonly known, namely, that it was found at a place called Maytham Level in the parish of Rolvenden ; that it was dug up and *float*ed, conveyed to London, brought on shore, exhibited in a yard adjoining Waterloo Bridge Road, and that having ceased to become an object of interest, it was finally broken up about March 1824. As to its form and dimensions: it was round sterned, and flat bottomed ; had a short half-deck or cabin astern, and a forecastle forwards. In regard to the immediate space: two-thirds of it from the after cabin had a covering, somewhat between a deck and a roof, the same having apparently been in the form of a slight curve, and composed of boards merely. The part immediately next the cabin was a caboose, or cooking-place ; the light tilt or covering of this, or the framework of it, fell as they cleared this part of the vessel. The part next the forecastle, some fourteen or fifteen feet in length, seems to have been entirely open. The stem and stern posts were nearly upright. A bulwark, with wash-boards, ran round the deck of the vessel, throughout every part, fourteen inches high. The entire length of the vessel was sixty-three feet eight inches, the breadth fifteen feet. The entire height, from the bottom to the gunwale, nine feet ; the depth in the hold averaged four feet six inches: the actual burden was consequently about seventy-five tons, though according to the rules for measuring vessels it would have been somewhat less. The socket for a mast was plainly discernible about one-third of the length from the stem, whence, from its forward position, it was conjectured that it had a second mast. It was steered by a rudder (rudders are said to have been introduced in the reign of Edward the Third), and to the head of the rudder was fitted a planshier, that is, a flat board, by which the vessel was steered by small ropes attached to it. These came in through circular perforations in the bends of the quarters, and had a bearing on dumb, or fixed rollers, to ease their friction. These ends were either spliced into one rope and so held in the steersman's hands, or possibly might have been connected by a wheel. There had been a boltsprit, as appeared by a cavity which had been made in one of the beams to receive the heel of it: and a ring, or the place of one, was observed

on the lower part of the cutwater, to which the bobstay or brace of the boltsprit was fixed. There were large rings fitted in the interior of the vessel to the sides, supposed used in passing a rope along by which horses were secured. It is stated to have been a prevailing opinion among the beholders from this circumstance, that it had been a troop ship employed for the transport of cavalry. If so, it was probably a vessel belonging to the Cinque Ports, which had been in Edward the Third's, or Henry the Fifth's expedition against France, and was returning to Newenden, or some inland place, to be laid up.

In regard to the articles found in it: there was some pottery, the character of which was decidedly medieval, as appears from the drawings which have been preserved. The objects of this class comprised a dark earthen jar or vase unglazed, with three feet, triangularly disposed; two other jars, also, with three feet and a pair of handles each: these were glazed inside, and had been used on the fire as cooking utensils; with these was an earthen jug of about a pint measure, similar to those used in Flemish public-houses, as delineated in the pictures of Teniers. Of glass there appears to have been only one specimen—a small glass bottle, with a swelling and somewhat globular lower part, a rather long neck, and a very wide rim round the orifice for the stopper: having been, as may be surmised, a medicine bottle, or cruet. This was found in the caboose. On it was delineated a ship in full sail: executed, as is said, in a very common and coarse manner, with colours very tawdry, which soon peeled off. Singularly enough, there were many encaustic square tiles on board, which from the drawings seem to have been similar to those used in the fourteenth century: they appear to have been bound together with iron, and used as a hearth; besides these there were also some bricks, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $3\frac{1}{4}$ and $1\frac{1}{2}$ thick, several of them grooved near the edges: these were not in the caboose, but in another part of the vessel.

Among the other articles found in the caboose, was the curious oaken board, with twenty-eight holes in it, which had a very short shank or handle. Conjectures as to its use were various. Some reputed it was used to keep a reckoning, others in playing a game, while again

there were those who thought that it was for culinary purposes. It was, however, too large to enter any of the cooking vessels.

Many articles of metal were found: a steel for striking light: several hooks: parts of two locks: a hilt of a sword: a sounding lead, which was a short octangular bar of that metal, and not cylindrical as now is the case. There were also some other objects under this head.

Of the bones found aboard, were noticed portions of the skull of an ox, the skull of a sheep, and part of that of a boar: the bones of some large animal, the breastbone of a large bird, and other animal bones: relics, undoubtedly, for the most part, of provisions. The skull of a greyhound was likewise found: that of a man and other human bones in the cabin: and of a boy a-midships. His legs were aloft towards the side of the vessel, whilst his head and shoulders had found some temporary support, till the silt entered and consolidated around; as a very complete impression remained of them in the above substance with which the ship was filled. Another human skull was dug out about twenty feet from the vessel on the outside.

It is not certain whether this skull of a boy a-midships may not have been the same as Mr. Rice describes as that of a child in the cabin. As to the impression in the silt: at Herculaneum was found the same kind of plastic moulding of the head and breast of a woman in the tufa, which seems a parallel case.

As to the supposed manner of its loss, as far as could be collected from the state in which it was found. A hole was discovered staved-in in the bottom, forward, from which it is to be reputed she had struck on an anchor or some hard substance in a gale, and so gone down; but this may possibly be required to be reconciled to the alleged circumstance, that the exact impression of the mainsail was found in the silt or mud at the side.

In stating the circumstance of the impression of the sail, we must observe that it is not notified in any of the accounts; but our informant, an eye-witness, was positive on the point; however, as appearances might have been deceptive, the fact must be considered very apocryphal.

Had the vessel stove her bottom in, the loss would have

been in one way ; had it been upset, the loss would have been in another. In the latter contingency, at any rate, she ultimately righted when she went down, having been found upright.

As to the number of the crew : there might have been only three hands on board, which would have been sufficient to navigate her : though the bodies of others might have floated away. Circumstances had prevented the crew from using their boat, which was found a short distance astern, sixteen feet, within the space excavated. It was fifteen feet long by five broad ; was clinker built, and in a much greater state of decay than the ship. It was observed to be caulked with hair ; a method which continued in use so lately as one hundred and seventy years since, and perhaps much later.

Some may express surprise, that a vessel should be wrecked in such an apparently secure inland situation ; but it must be remembered that the inlet here was formerly of a considerable breadth ; the storm may have unexpectedly increased, and this vessel, having before received much injury, as shown by the state of the bottom, and become nearly water-logged, may have sunk suddenly while under sail. That the catastrophe was of this nature, the particulars above collected seem to indicate. The boat not used ; the sail not lowered ; and the captain—if the skeleton found there be his—in the cabin. It is only so lately as the year 1842, that a loss in a somewhat similar situation was nearly occurring in the Medway. A barge in that year, not greatly less in tonnage, it is mentioned, was obliged by a storm precipitately to quit its moorings at Whorne's Place, Cuxton, and to retire below Rochester Bridge for shelter, to avoid the fate of foundering, which it is supposed would have awaited it had it remained. As to the mast with its sail being carried away, the same might have been effected by the united force of the winds and waves after it had sunk.

From the vessel with its contents, as well as the sail, becoming so quickly imbedded, some shifting of the silt or ooze at the time of its loss may be suspected. When found, the gunwale of it was ten feet below the bank of the stream, and two feet three inches below the bottom of the stream itself. The bottom of the vessel of course

rested nine feet lower than this, which makes the bank to have been raised nineteen feet since the loss : and the bed of this branch of the Rother rather more than eleven feet. From this fact, the depth of water at the time of the catastrophe may be nearly arrived at. The level of the meadows at this spot we may judge to be about two feet above the former high-water mark : as they must have received considerable deposits from the land floods. Again, it is evident there must have been such a depth of water over the wreck as made it inconvenient to remove the materials. There could not, therefore, have been less than twelve or thirteen feet at low water ; and this may be assumed as nearly correct, as it would leave four or five feet for the rise of the tide, which may be regarded sufficient in this inland situation.

The fore-part of the vessel, it should not be omitted to observe, laid one foot nine inches lower than the after part : so here the ground was raised twenty feet nine inches. The plate in the printed account of the exhibitor of the vessel, represents the first three feet mud, the rest sea sand. Presumably by sea sand is meant a gritty silt or ooze merely, not pure sand. It is to be regretted that we have not a geological description of the strata of this cutting or excavation. Dr. Harris, in his *History of Kent*, p. 213, considers that the present surface of the ground of this former inlet near Reading Street is about fourteen feet above the ancient bed of its waters, as was shown by some casual explorations. This, therefore, does not give results materially different from those which have been ascertained from the discovery of this old ship.

Some other desultory particulars may be added. On the end or remnant of a plank found in the vessel, which, however, was several feet long, were some marks scored : the first group undoubtedly a merchant's, or in this case a timber-merchant's, mark ; the second the number 19—xviii—or 18, should the last stroke, which sweeps round, not be a numeral. On the opposite sides of the vessel, on the outside, towards the stern, were two circular plates of lead, rather bigger than five-shilling pieces ; on one of these the impression was obliterated ; on the other, which, however, was early purloined, and therefore not so perfectly examined as could have been wished, are said

to have been the black-letter characters PI, which has not been explained, though the best suggestion seems to be that they were wrongly read for the numerals III, *i.e.* the draught of water. It should be added to the above, that the transome or deck beams of the vessel were of uncommon thickness and strength, being twelve or fourteen inches wide; and that it was a sea-going vessel there could not be any doubt; indeed, it was well adapted for such a purpose.

Yet, further, some few other particulars may be noted. This ancient relic was constructed throughout of oak, and caulked with moss: and though of such large size, yet, like its boat, it was clinker built. The planks, which were one and three-quarter inch thick, were noted for their extraordinary breadth, averaging about two feet. There was no anchor or cable found with it; but the grooves over the bows, where the cable used to be run out, were visible. They were not much worn. Rings, or places for rings, were observable just abaft the mast, on each side, to which the dead-eyes of the shrouds had been hooked. There was a curious windlass on the deck aft; another had been fixed forward. Several shoes or sandals were found in and about the vessel. A curious leathern inkhorn was among the relics collected on board; and a decayed coil of inch cordage was in the cabin, with which were some hooks. In the fire-place the brands bore the appearance of having been extinguished suddenly. The vessel lay across the present channel of the branch of the Rother, where it was found. The stern was well under and imbedded in the bank on the Kentish side.

The removal of this ancient vessel to London for exhibition proved very unfortunate as a commercial speculation. Much spirit and enterprise were no doubt displayed in conveying it to the metropolis; but proper means do not appear to have been taken to set forth the due interest of the exhibition and to make it popular. The attraction it possessed, somewhat languid at first, soon began to diminish, to which sinister suspicions ensued, no doubt mostly unfounded, but at any rate they were not sufficiently removed. All hope of the success of the project now vanished, and with some, even the subject became one of disgust, and the whole affair was very absurdly

declaimed against as an imposition. This ancient vessel may thus be said to have twice suffered shipwreck : once, five hundred years ago, at the mouth of the Rother ; and again, more recently, in public favour in London : but its adventures were now closed, for with this came the actual finish of it, in its being broken up, as before noted, for firewood.

There was yet another ill consequence attendant. A much better preserved, though much smaller, ancient vessel which, by a strange coincidence, came to light a year or two afterwards became lost to the public. It was discovered deeply imbedded at Ford, near Folkestone, just above where the viaduct now is, where the bay formerly came up. The interest connected with this relic of antiquity was very highly spoken of in the small circle of those who had the opportunity of seeing it, and the feasibility of exhibiting it in the metropolis was in agitation ; but the proprietor alarmed at the ill success which had been incurred on the former occasion, relinquished all idea of doing so, and had it broken up on the spot where it was found ; and no account in print exists of it as far as can be ascertained.

To revert to our more general subject: we are now arriving at a different branch of it and have an opposite agency to deal with, the erosion or washing away the land by the waves of the sea ; and the effects of this are certainly very striking in some instances. We shall treat of it here as exhibited in the Swale and at Reculver, and in the Isle of Sheppey and elsewhere.

It is no contradiction to say that deposit and erosion should take place in the same part of the kingdom and at places not greatly distant from one another. It has before been intimated that where supply is cut off accumulation ceases ; we may also add, where tracts of land are acted upon by currents of water, the trituration and diminution of those lands in some cases may be rapid.

Our first instances will be Seasalter and Boughton Blean on the Swale.

At the former of these places the parish church has been destroyed by the waves, which catastrophe has been thus evidenced. On the occasion of a great storm, January 1st, 1779, there were discovered on the beach along

the shore at Cadham's Corner, about a mile west of the present church, the stone foundations, as supposed, of the ancient one : being the inferior portions of the walls of a large long building lying due east and west. With these many human bones became visible, which were collected together and buried in the usual cemetery of the parish.

In respect to Boughton Blean. In the lower part of the parish, which lies somewhat to the south-west, there has been a considerable erosion by the watery element. Here, in the part called Cleve Marsh, was formerly a Salt Pan, valued in *Domesday Book* at xvi pence, being a part of the possessions of the Archbishop of Canterbury in this quarter, and chargeable with tithe to the vicar. These salt works have been carried away by the sea beyond the memory of man ; though some indications are still preserved of the spot they occupied.

In turning to Reculver, it may be observed, that a long detail might be entered into, respecting the inroads of the sea there. They have formed a leading subject of interest from the time of Leland—perhaps long before—down to the present day. The invasion of the boisterous element progressed from year to year, and from age to age, till at length it became a problem how many miles of land it had devoured. Whilst merely acre after acre went, and field after field, little was done to repress the waters : but when, towards the end of the last century, the church itself began to be threatened, the parishioners made some strenuous efforts by forming groynes and other defences to avert the overthrow : but just at this period the work of destruction seemed to advance with such rapid strides, that they promised to be of little use. They were quickly washed away ; but unexpectedly such large quantities of beach were thrown up as to save the sacred edifice, whose entire demolition seemed otherwise close at hand. This, however, was but for an interval, as in 1808, a copious fall of cliff, occasioned by a violent storm and unusual high tide, appeared to leave no further hope. The parishioners now began to dismantle the church and prepared to abandon it ; when at this juncture the Corporation of the Trinity House came forward and purchased it for a sea mark : it being very useful for that purpose to avoid the Horse, and other dangerous shoals in the neighbourhood. The Corporation,

by well formed groynes in many subdivisions, checked the advance of the sea, which had advanced to within a few feet of the northern tower: and no imminent danger is now apprehended. It being uncertain how much land has been washed away, it is not known whether the present church be the original one, or whether, as the inhabitants give out, it stood on the Black Rock, about a mile from the land, where are the foundations of a large building, usually covered with water, but visible at some rare intervals; as at the extraordinary low tide recorded in the beginning of the year 1784. The present church stands within the Roman fortress, and might have always been for the use of the garrison, Reculver being of the later time of the Romans. The Roman town, we have no occasion to doubt, stood between Reculver Castle and the sea, and has been long since washed away.

Respecting the isle of Sheppey, it is perhaps a moderate computation to suppose that no more than one-third of its original size has been washed away: there seems, however, a want of obvious historical evidence to investigate the subject.

But by far the most singular mutation on this coast, caused by the washing away of the land, as supposed, is the Pudding-pan Rock, which lies at sea among the flats contiguous to Herne Bay, Reculver, and Whitstable. This has been honoured with four Dissertations in the fifth and sixth volumes of the *Archæologia*, by Governor Pownall, and Messrs. Jacob and Keate. Governor Pownall, who first brought it into notice, confuses its situation with that of another spot very similar in name, the Pan Sand in the Queen's channel, in the Thames, a shoal well known to navigators. It is, however, quite distinct from this, lying three miles west-south-west from the buoy marking the extremity of this said sand, as Mr. Jacob properly corrects him. The real position is six miles north by west of Reculver, three and a half miles north-west by north of Herne Bay pier-head, and four and a half north-north-east from Whitstable beacon. A rock, called Hickmays, lies at a small distance from it: and it is about a mile and a half south-east of the Black or Eastern buoy of the Spaniard. These directions may not be too minute, as it is omitted in the usual charts.

This rock, or shoal, is remarkable for the great quantities of Roman pottery raised up from it by the fishermen in their nets; whence the opinion is frequently entertained of a vessel from Italy, laden with pottery for the use of the Romans in Britain, having been wrecked upon it. The earthenware found is of two descriptions. Pateræ and capedines of the red species, usually called Samian: and simpula, simpuvia and catini, of the dusky black, or Tuscan class. Many of these last are found whole, and are stated to be used in the fishermen's families for domestic purposes. The rock, or shoal, is described half a mile long, thirty paces broad, and as having six feet water upon it at low tides. According to Mr. Keate, it is at one particular part that the pottery is found; and that after it has been agitated by storms. Governor Pownall further ascertained the existence of Roman masonry here: fishing up a large piece of brick-work, and the usual tiles. This gives a new feature to the locality, and removes the idea of a vessel wrecked here, before most commonly entertained as the readiest solution for the pottery discovered. Pownall therefore concluded there had formerly been a pottery manufacture which existed on an island at this place, which had been washed away, like the neighbouring shores of Reculver; though no history records it. From Ptolemy's maps, he was at one time inclined to think this island was that he styles Counos, but afterwards abandoned that supposition. Indeed, Ptolemy's maps appear to be erroneous in this part; and even were it otherwise, a small island might easily have been omitted.

The pottery found here seems rich in the variety of potters' names. The following are stated to occur:—

ATILIANI.	CADANUS.	DECMI.	NAMILIAN.
ATILIANI. M.	CARATIN.	MARN. C.	PATT. O.
ALBUCINI.	CARETI.	MATERNIM.	SEVERIANI.
ATRUCINI.	CINTUS.	MATERNI.	SATURNINI.

A very complete and useful list of potters' marks on Samian ware, mortaria and amphoræ, illustrated by two plates and several woodcuts, is given in vol. i of the *Col-lectanea Antiqua* of Mr. C. Roach Smith, pp. 148-166.

In describing Roman antiquities, their different vessels

of earthenware are often mentioned ; their names in this place may therefore be enumerated. *Urna*, urn ; *amphora*, jar ; *olla*, a jar of large size ; *patera*, which, perhaps, may be best designated by the same name in English, otherwise call it a saucer, circular pan, or bowl ; *cantharus*, pitcher ; *simpulum*, ladle ; *simpuvium*, perhaps the same ; *catinum*, dish ; *capeo*, cup ; *cyathus*, wine ladle ; *phiala*, according to some the same as *patera*, but apparently rather an urn-shaped bowl ; *urceus*, a pitcher, which last Horace, in his *De Arte Poeticâ*, contrasts with *amphora*.

Amphora cœpit

Institui ; currente rotâ cur urceus exit ?

In English : " A jar began to be formed : but why as the wheel went round was a pitcher produced ? "

The Samian ware, so frequently mentioned, was formerly sometimes styled Ionian. Mr. Brian Faussett, the learned antiquary of East Kent, termed it coralline. It is very much in its colour like red sealing-wax. It is of two species, plain and embossed ; the former is frequently found whole. Pitiscus says it was made " *ex luto Samio in rubrum colorem vertentem* " ; in English, " from the clay of Samos, which turns red when burnt. " Plautus mentions it thus : " *Ad rem divinam quibus opus est Samiis vasis utitur*. " That is, " Samian ware is used in sacrificing. " Cicero's notice of it implies the same thing, who has this passage in his *De Republicâ* : " *Oratio extat Læti quam omnes habemus in manibus quàm simpuvia pontificum Diis immortalibus grata sint Samiæque ut hic scribit capedines*. " The translation is, " There is an oration of Lætus still extant, which is in the hands of us all, reminding us how pleasing to the immortal gods are the sacrificial ladles of the priests, and cups formed of Samian ware, as he writes. " The Tuscan sort, on the contrary, was for inferior uses, and is mentioned as being so. Thus in Juvenal we have

Aut quis

Simpuvium ridere Numæ, nigrumque catinum

Ausus erat ? -

That is, " Who would have derided the rude ladle of Numa Pompilius, or his black dish ? "

Regarding the former state of the coast at Deal : those who think that Cæsar landed at this place, suppose that

the sea has washed away his naval camp (see *Additions to Kent* in Gough's *Camden*); but about the former state of the coast in this vicinity there is some difference of opinion. Mr. Lewis, in a paper read before the Antiquarian Society in the year 1744, and printed in the first volume of the *Archæologia*, supposes Batteley to have greatly erred in placing the mouth of Richborough harbour at Pepperness, now called Shellness, affirming the estuary formerly extended to Walmer. He owned, however, that Pepperness had bounded the ancient port of Sandwich. This is carrying the addition to the coast further than Batteley, and shews that some grounds of controversy exist as to whether this shore has increased or diminished here; and if increased, to what extent.

Actual observation on the spot convinces the observer that the sea must undoubtedly have come behind Deal at some former period. Even now it is so flat between that place and Sandwich, that there are persons who remembered skating between the two places on frozen slashes of water or ditches. From Upper Deal a higher level or peninsula seems to project itself towards the town, which, whether it ever left any passage since the bank of beach on which the town stands existed, is doubtful. From this projection, in either case, the low hollow west of Walmer Castle must have been a mere nook or inlet, as its dimensions could have been but trifling. But that the beach existed in the time of Cæsar, there is every reason to suppose; since numerous Roman coins are found at neap tides at low water on the chalk at the edge of the beach, which are supposed to have been in the beach itself, and in the course of shifting of portions of it by gales of wind, to have fallen through, and to have been left in the places where they were found. It is true that the most ancient of which we can speak is one of Vespasian, but this still may show early date of the beach. It here may be added, that in driving the piles into it for the Deal pier formed in 1842, it was found in a highly concrete state, almost like rock, denoting great antiquity. It follows from the above, that we may repute that Walmer bay could not be entered in Cæsar's time any more than now; nor the inlet behind Deal be approached by vessels otherwise than by Richborough.

We have spoken before of the tendency of the beach to move in a direction from the south-west to the north-east, but arrived at this point (Deal) it at once becomes arrested and unable, from no well-explained, certainly from no striking cause, to pass its boundaries. That this has been the case from the highest antiquity there is every reason to suppose. The meaning of the name Deal in Anglo-Saxon, as applied to this place, is "division", because the beach and the sand divide here: in the like manner the name Sandown marks the precise spot where the sand begins. Leland, indeed, has the name Dola instead of Dela: but if this be not an error, the o for the e, in the old manuscripts in which he found it, it may be recollected that in local English dialects, in terms derived from the same Anglo-Saxon word, the like change of letter takes place. Sources may possibly exist to show the division of beach and sand at this spot from very ancient times. One of one hundred and fifty years date we have here to offer.

In Martin's *Index to the Exchequer Records*, 8vo., 1819, pages 64 and 184, are references to a *Record*, Hilary term, 6. William III, fol. 249, *Book of Decrees*, thus described: "Award established and injunction to quiet defendants in possession of the Sea Valley, or Sea Beach, against the claim of the Crown, as being derelict lands: viz., between Deal Castle and Sandown Castle." This *Record* relates to the ground on which part of Deal next the sea stands. In what way the claim was attempted to be substantiated the *Record* might perhaps show, which, however, has not been consulted. Thus the beach, so moveable in other places, appears to have had a permanent station here in the sixth year of William the Third, that is, in the year 1694, and has so now.

The motion and shifting of such enormous quantities of shingle taking place elsewhere to the westward of this locality on the shores of Kent, is a circumstance which should not be left unattended to by those who would be acquainted with either the ancient or modern state of the Kentish coast and British Channel. That the shingle, in the aggregate, is an increasing quantity is scarcely doubtful, as continual accessions must both arrive from the westward along the coast, and be formed by the attrition of the cliffs; but as enormous collections are

lodged, and occupy areas of many square miles, it may be reputed that only about the same quantity is moveable by the commotions of the sea as of old.

A paper on the motion of shingle beaches in our Channel, in the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1834, part II, page 84, by H. R. Palmer, Esq., civil engineer, may be, perhaps, consulted with advantage. Beds of shingle, he informs us, begin to be broken up, and withdrawn further to sea, when the waves succeed each other at ten in a minute or quicker, for they then break over one another, and their force is in reality exerted downwards, and therefore towards the sea. At eight waves to a minute accumulation begins. Currents, he observes, do not occasion the drift or progressive motion of beach along the coast: which, indeed, could scarcely have been supposed, but strong winds prevailing in a lateral direction. Finally, he agrees in the fact of the beach being stationary near Sandown, of which a striking illustration has just been given. This he imputes to the comparative shallowness and the very gradual inclination of the shore in that place near the land.

A more recent theory, discussed at the Institution of Civil Engineers, London, March 2, 1847, requires to be also noticed. This is based on the supposed fact, that in gales of wind, with the wind on the shore, the beach is removed from the land; and that in gales of wind, with the wind off the shore, it is thrown up, and accumulates; and to account for this apparent paradox seems to involve the following particulars of explanation. 1. The depth of water at which the beach is affected by the movements of the waves, is assumed to be not exceeding nine feet, supposed to be supported by experience. 2. For the purpose of this theory, the sea at that depth is considered to be divided into two layers: the upper one as acted upon in either direction of the wind, the lower one as solely producing an effect by its retractile gravity, as each wave subsides. Of these two layers the depth of the upper is to be taken at three feet,—of the lower at six feet. 3. On hydrostatic principles, a power or force applied will raise, propel, or cause to be moved, a larger body in water than it would were the same not immersed. 4. The wave propelled against the shore, supports, for a time, the beach

till its secession. 5. In a gale of wind upon the shore, the wind continues to propel forward the upper layer of the water, and detains it upon the land some considerable interval after the lower layer, not acted upon by the wind, has begun to retire. 6. The re-draught of the lower layer under these circumstances may be thought to have a great effect in carrying away the beach from the shore: the sphere of its action, according to No. 3, being increased. 7. When there is a gale of wind off the shore, the operation of these causes is inverse. 8. The above action is considered to apply to the depth of about nine feet: yet the rise of the tides being taken at twenty or twenty-one feet, it practically extends to twenty-nine or thirty feet from high-water mark.

We do not pretend to pronounce whether this last theory be well founded or not. If it be so it would follow, that where beach accumulates there are more gales of wind off the shore than on. On one point, as to its general increase on our south-eastern coast, there is no doubt. The above theory, it will be observed, is silent as to any lateral movement of the beach, which it must have, or else how came a great portion of it where it is?

The beach being supposed to accumulate, it must once have had a commencement. Hence we may assume the possibility of the sand-hills between Deal and Sandwich being more ancient than the beach; in anywise they are of very great antiquity, as there is evidence to show. In one of them, half a mile beyond Sandown Castle, about the year 1839, so many Roman coins were found by a labourer, who was digging sand for a farmer, as nearly to make them unsaleable. They were of Victorinus, Probus, Tetricus, and others of the lower empire. Near the same place, either under the sand or under the beach, for as to which was meant the author's memorandum is in this respect defective, inclosed spaces were found, formed of dry stone walls, of rude construction, twelve or fourteen feet square, where were pavements laid and drains to convey away the water. The whole was supposed to refer to times of considerable antiquity, and to imply that persons having suffered shipwreck had temporarily huddled themselves and dwelt here. This was seashore, then, in early times as now.

We should note that there was one obvious use to which the sand-hills were applied,—that of their being frequently made the burial-places for shipwrecked mariners, of which there is no doubt. A few years since the skeletons of fourteen men were found in one of them, very perfect, the date of the interment not known. The bones were broken up, and sold by the bushel for manure.

We may make a short digression to consider some changes similar to the Kentish ones, from this cause of erosion by the sea, which have taken place in the adjoining coast of Sussex.

These have chiefly been the engulfing the ancient town of Winchelsea, and part of the coast near, where, as before noted, the Rother forced a fresh outlet in the reign of Edward I; the loss of the harbours of Hastings and Pevensea, which last was frequented by ships in the reign of Henry III; and, lastly, the loss of a considerable part of the coast at Brighton. We may briefly allude to some details connected with this last place; particularly as the inroads of the boisterous element have been so effectually checked in late times.

According, then, to accounts published of this town, these abrasions of the shore are first mentioned in the year 1665; and to understand the accounts, we must just note the features of the ancient Brighton,—that it was composed of two portions, the upper and the lower towns: the former standing above the cliff, having in the centre of it a fort or blockhouse; the latter built below the cliff, as it should seem, on the beach, or derelict of the sea. The fishermen, it would appear, here formed their abodes, and found convenient places for drying their nets, and fixing capstans for hauling up their boats. In the year before-mentioned, twenty-two of their tenements, among which were several shops and capstan places, were swept away by the waves of the sea; and in the subsequent years 1703 and 1705, one hundred and thirteen other tenements followed, of a similar mixed description. In short, every dwelling was swept away below the cliff, and, if the accounts be rightly understood, a great deal above it: for the blockhouse, which had once been in the centre of the town, now became the last building at its southern extremity, and stood at the edge of the cliff. Much more of

the site of the present town would probably been washed away, as the sea by moving the beach from the foot of the cliffs caused them to fall down: but after this last date the process of groyning was adopted, which has remedied the evil. The expedient of the groynes is simple: for whereas the drift of the beach or shingle from the westward, not being always replaced after storms, laid bare the foot of the cliff, which thus became washed by the waves, the groynes remedied this, and kept the shingle in its place. These groynes in their construction were frameworks of timber, thirteen or fourteen feet high, where they joined the cliffs, and reduced to a level with the sands at low-water mark at the other extremity towards the sea. These barriers of timber being boarded, detain the shingle drifting from the westward, which, being deposited to their very tops, forms an effectual barrier to the coast, where these protections are placed sufficiently close together.

It may be mentioned here, in connexion with the coast at Brighton, that at the village of Rottingdean, four miles to the east, the cliff forty yards inland has been carried away by the sea within thirty-five years, at the place where formerly was the Green. Groynes have doubtless not been sufficiently employed there.

This form of groynes, we may add, seems particularly adapted to protect all shores from the action of the sea, even where there is no movement of shingle: possibly by arresting the lateral motion of the waves. Witness the Trinity House barricade at Reculver, which we have before alluded to, and which is nothing more than groynes of small height, set pretty close together, with boarded slopes between them.

There are not wanting some who, considering the surprising changes which have taken place on the Kentish coast, and connecting them with the inundations in Flanders, the submersion of Winchelsea in Sussex, etc., are inclined to overlook the more immediate causes, and to attribute these effects to an earthquake. Earthquakes, however, very rarely occur in geological formations similar to those of these parts; and the silence of history, and the permanency of many ancient buildings, older than the middle of the thirteenth century, gives no evidence of

them. All the effects seem to be fully accounted for from other causes. Indeed, for instance, it is very possible, that a place situated extremely low like the old Winchelsea, and projecting, too, on a tongue of land into the sea, might have been so injured by high tides and storms, as to be abandoned by its inhabitants. As to the inundations in Flanders, there is no reason to suppose them more than some such catastrophes as before described. Embankments, we know, were carried on to an excess in that quarter: hence, from the waters being kept back from such large tracts, inundations would follow; which may be considered as a kind of reaction on the part of the sea; and so sensible were the Flemings of this, that Guiccardini informs us, that when land was bought it was specified that if it should be inundated within ten years, the sale should be void. Indeed, it cannot be supposed but that the enormous embankments carried on in England and Flanders, whereby the sea was shut out from so many hundreds of square miles, must, in the end, have produced some considerable effects on the sea itself. It must have been pent up to a higher level, like water confined in other circumstances: and till they proportionably strengthened and heightened their banks, disastrous effects must have been occasionally produced by its overflow. To say aught further on this subject, which is, in fact, so little disputable, and which there is no reason to suppose is in general incorrectly understood, may not appear necessary. On the other hand, it might seem a deficiency were there not made some allusion to it.

In regard to the Goodwin Sands, which lie off the easternmost coast of Kent, a tradition exists that they were once firm land, part of the estate of Earl Godwin, and inundated by the sea in the year 1098, in the reign of William Rufus. In endeavouring to trace this tradition, all corroboration seems to fail: whence Hasted, the historian of Kent, declined to dilate upon it, or to occupy his readers with it. Indeed, at the time mentioned, Earl Godwin had been dead above forty years, and there was no other of the name, Godwin; the son of Harold, having retired to Ireland; besides, Domesday Book, completed ten years before, shows that no extensive tract of land had been submerged by the sea in this direc-

tion and become lost. Under these circumstances, we may be, perhaps, excused in taking a geological view of the question, and in presuming that the existence of these sands naturally results from their situation. They are, indeed, at a point of conflux. In their vicinity the tide from the north sea meets that coming up the British Channel. They adjoin the mouth of the Thames, and lie opposite that of the Stour, which was formerly a much more important river than at present; and last, not least, both the south-westerly winds, and south-westerly currents must much tend to bring accumulations to this point. That such was their origin there seems strong reason to suppose. In particular, their formation seems still to extend itself, as Kingsdown Mark, a pile of stone-work, built in the reign of Elizabeth to show the South Sand head, is at the present day of no use, the sand having now extended itself a mile further to the southward.

In the Report of the Commission of the Harbours of Refuge for 1845, appeared the rather startling assertion, that the Brake Sand, a branch of the Goodwin Sands, in the Small Downs, had moved *bodily inwards* towards the shore seven hundred yards within the last fifty years. Were this exactly so, wonders, indeed, might be looked for on this coast. Admitting it, however, to be actually a fact, that the sand bank lies nearer the shore than heretofore, it can only be that a deposit has taken place on the inward side of the sand, which is immediately opposite the mouth of the Stour, while the outward side of the same has been eroded by the winds and tides. This mode of stating the case takes away much of the marvellous from it.

The species of information we obtain by our inquiries as matter of fact is of itself valuable; and our application of the above changes of the coast, and of those of the shores of rivers and estuaries to historical and archæological research, need not be but extremely brief; we may, however, note cursorily one or two particular topics to which they may have a reference.

Among these we may especially specify Cæsar's two Expeditions, which we have before said are connected with our subject; as also is the *Itinerary* of Antoninus. Having now proved the existence of the ancient estuary of the

Rother at Lymne, it will at once appear to be feasible, on the supposition that sailing from Gessoriacum or Boulogne he reached the British coast at Folkstone, that he could on weighing anchor with a rising tide and a south-west wind, have proceeded, with both in his favour, according to the words of his *Commentaries*, in one direction or the other: in fact, either proceeded to Deal or to Lymne. In giving a freer scope to examine the subject, it gives us actually a greater acquaintance with it. It is much the same with the *Itinerary* of Antoninus. Our research tends to illustrate the positions of the ports of Lymne and Richborough; and occasionally the direction of various roads, under circumstances in which it was necessary to make *detours* to avoid formerly existing estuaries or morasses, or to seek some ferry or ford then, perhaps, the only one attainable. Further, our present research will frequently throw much light on the buried villa or monument when discovered; and even point out to the antiquary in what spots to direct his explorations to meet with others. All this is effected; and from its being shown that the very surprising changes of the earth's surface, of which we have treated, are only the ordinary operations of nature, it will obviate the necessity of constantly introducing, as some have done, the agency of earthquakes; imagining one such commotion of the earth for altering the course of the Rother, another for the Stour. In short, overlooking proximate causes for others,—unreal historically, and remote.

Our research will of course facilitate much, all explorations in the way of topography and local description. It will elucidate the why and the wherefore of such facts, as the discovery of the remains of the vessel found wrecked amidst extensive levels now many miles from the sea; or of ships' anchors in places where now even the grapnel of a boat might not have been expected. We thus may solve some phenomena of the earth's surface, which we cannot do without reflecting light on various topics of historical and archæological interest.

Lastly, a good moral lesson is derivable from our present inquiries. The vicissitudes we have described, the sweeping away of various tracts and districts by the ocean, and the addition of other most extensive ones from various

causes which had no existence before, should remind us of the great changes to which all earthly things are liable, and teach us to fix our thoughts above, where there is no mutability.

CHAPTER VI.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE GOVERNMENT WORK OF THE "MONUMENTA HISTORICA BRITANNICA."

PERHAPS never so great an alteration took place in the literature of this country from the days of Camden downwards, as that which was occasioned by the establishment of the Record Commission. We do not mean of course in the lighter species of literature, or in works of poetry and imagination, but in those of an historical description. Correct sources of information began now to lie within every one's reach, and the former political state and position of the country became far better known to every cursory inquirer from the publication of its Records, and the insight thereby afforded, than it could have been before, even by the most laborious researches.

This country is peculiarly rich in records: but it was not till about the beginning of the present century, that the expediency of making them popularly known came to be acknowledged, which occasioned what we may term the great honour to the nation—the Record Commission to be established, the business, office, and province of which was to effect this object; to make them familiar, accessible, and useful; to make them the ready tools and instruments of the historical inquirer; and, further, to acquaint him fully with the extent and amount of information which could thus be afforded him.

The members of the Record Commission were fully aware of the objects it was intended to accomplish, and proceeded to carry them into execution with, on the

whole, a judicious general view of the subject, and certainly with great talent in those who were to carry out the details of it. The late Mr. Caley, of the Augmentation Office, a person nearly unrivalled in this species of learning, was undoubtedly the great stay and support of the Commission in its earlier period, and is said to have assisted the minister Mr. Pitt in forming the plan of it, and also himself edited some important parts of the archives and records which were now submitted to the public.

The Commission commenced their publications with very enlarged and improved editions of the great national works of Domesday and Rymer's *Fœdera*, which were put forth from the press with great care and accuracy. Having got over this part of their task, their other labours were more miscellaneous, and they took the following course. The *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of Henry VIII, or the *Surveys of ecclesiastical property* of that date, was printed entire, and this had the advantage of Mr. Caley's own supervision. The *Taxation of Pope Nicholas* in the thirteenth century followed, and one or two other things of the kind; whilst in regard to *Knights' Fees*, the celebrated *Record*, or *quasi-Record*, of *Testa de Nevill* was published. These were of the nature of ancient compilations, summaries made in former times: and were now perpetuated through the press. We do not mean to say that the above works appeared in the precise order we have here noted, as we are speaking of the general views of the Commissioners and publishing arrangements merely. However to continue.

The printing of public Records in a series and in detail being of course not practicable to any considerable extent, the arranging and printing of Indexes and Catalogues of Records became the next branch of their undertaking: and these were edited in far too great a number to be here enumerated: viz., *Calendars*, as they are called, of the *Charter*, and *Patent Rolls*, of the *Originalia* of the *Exchequer*, of the *Placita de quo Warranto*, of the *Inquisitiones ad quod Damnum*, of the *Inquisitiones post Mortem*, of the *Proceedings in Chancery*, etc., etc., etc. The editorial and supervising part of all these publications it may safely be said was executed with great talent, and almost un-

exampléd accuracy, patience, and perseverance. There was one serious drawback, however, that, whether from the extent of the undertaking, or from using imperfect indexes already made, and thus avoiding the task of indexing again most voluminous masses of documents, in many cases these Calendars are only selections of particular names, those thought most connected with great families, or otherwise most noted; whilst an infinity of others are omitted. Considering the great expense at which these numerous Calendars have been published, it is extraordinary that this practice should have been allowed. However, many a research has been thus foiled by this unbusiness-like practice being introduced, and some of these Calendars rendered nearly nugatory. Indeed, from this cause the contents of many records have remained, and will remain, nearly as inaccessible as before, notwithstanding the large sums of money spent in printing an ostensible index.

Another great disadvantage has been joined to this: the Calendars first issued of the patent rolls and other higher species of records, have not been followed up with those of records more intimately connected with the great masses of the nation. That is to say, the Calendars of the Charter Rolls have not appeared except of those that are very early: and no Calendars have been printed at all of indentures inrolled between subjects of the realm. Thus, and we here speak of an inconvenience which touches those who have to refer to the Records for legal or other purposes, a further break is made in researches, which it is frequently very difficult to obviate, and perhaps altogether so except at much expense, which, as the Records are public property, and for the benefit of the country, is of course a public evil. The above we may incidentally remark: the Record publications, however, form a body of documentary literature highly creditable to the country.

The publication which more particularly forms our present topic was not suggested, it is believed, till several years after the forming of the commission, and the idea was apparently taken from the French, who have a very complete work of the kind relating to ancient Gaul. Two words will describe what it was to effect. It was to com-

prise all that had been published in primeval times in classic literature, and in Saxon times in Anglo-Saxon literature, relating to Britain: to be contained in one work, where the student might find what he wanted, without being obliged, as before, to search through a whole library. The work would be one which would naturally swell out to great extent, and be of considerable labour and expense, and, we need not hesitate to say, that it has been done in a manner worthy of a great nation; notwithstanding that many defects may be noticeable in it.

We will describe a little the contents of the work, which will enable us better to see its defects and excellences.

First, we will observe, that when it was determined to publish a work of this nature, an editor had to be made for the purpose, there being then no person in the kingdom who had ever gone over the ground; no historical writer or critic who was exactly versed in the arcana required. This being the case, it is certain that a better selection could not have been made than to entrust the carrying out of the design to a gentleman of high reputation in one of the first Record departments in the kingdom; and consequently accustomed to accuracy, and a good judge of literary and documentary evidences; and such a person eminently was the late Mr. Petrie, who has earned for himself thereby, not only an historical, but a national reputation. On his decease, his position has been well sustained by his successor, Mr. Thomas Duffus Hardy; like Mr. Petrie, the Keeper of the Records of the Tower.

Besides, however, the general superintendence and editorship indispensable to bring the work into existence, of which we have spoken, there was also much minor, or, or as it may be called, sub-editorial arrangement necessary for the conveniently consulting of this truly voluminous mass. Here, from some not very obvious cause, from altering the first arrangements of the materials, or from extending them further than at first thought, or from various portions of the work having been executed at different times, and under two editors, some very considerable defects exist. We mean in pagination, references, and in the proper order and sequence of various parts of the work. The whole of the contents are not easy of reference; and a greater simplicity in the general arrangement

might seem desirable. It is needless to point out instances of this, as they must be so obvious to every reader.

It is now time to speak of the contents seriatim of this valuable national publication.

The volume commences with a general Introduction, Preface, Appendix to the Preface, Remarks on the Chronological computations of medieval histories, and a general Chronology of events from the year before Christ 59 to the year after the Christian era 498. The whole comprises 146 closely printed folio pages, and, except in the instance of one of the articles, is drawn up with the greatest ability and learning well applied. To say otherwise, would be to withhold well merited commendation, and to do an injustice, to which we should not be inclined.

The article we have considered defective is the Chronological Abstract, containing eighteen of the above pages, which, generally speaking, is extensively erroneous, theorising, and unfaithful. The usual data relating to the first arrival of the Saxons are much misrepresented, an obvious error in some of the accounts of the mission of St. Germanus not corrected, and needless chronological confusion introduced.

The extracts from the Greek and Latin classics are placed next to the Introduction and Preface and their concomitants. The Greek extracts are translated into English; but the reader must be cautioned that the translations cannot always be depended upon as giving the true sense; a defect to which, as we may remind historical students, all translations from the Greek, or indeed from any language, are peculiarly liable, in cases where the facts treated of are not intimately known, or the allusions of the author fully understood. There are omissions here and there of various passages of classic authors, which one way or the other have escaped the compiler.

The extracts are divided into a triple series, historical, geographical, and miscellaneous; which is an arrangement avoided by Dr. Giles, with great judgment, in a very analogous work, his *Documents relating to Ancient Britain*, 8vo., 1847. We are made fully sensible, in the present instance, of the bad effect of this threefold division, in increasing confusion in a work necessarily of a somewhat complicated nature, and making reference less easy. Extracts, pro-

perly speaking, should have been given from ancient Oriental writers relating to Britain, but are not ; and the same may be remarked of the Irish and Cambrian bards. On the other hand, the editorial part of these extracts seems executed with great skill ; the best text seems selected ; and the notes, though few, are very efficient.

There is a good "Index Rerum", or general index to the Extracts ; and an "Index Geographicus", or geographical index ; but no "Index Nominum", or index of names of persons, which is a considerable defect.

The Inscriptions follow the classical extracts. As they are brought down as far as known in 1847, many have been of course added since Mr. Petrie's death, antiquarian assistance having been obtained from the British Museum. They have notes and references at the bottom of the page, and an "Index Nominum et Rerum" is added to this part, as also an "Index Geographicus", and likewise an "Index Cæsarum", or of Roman Emperors mentioned.

Seventeen plates of coins follow, with descriptive letter-press, which have the following appropriation :—Plate I, British coins ; plates II-IV, Roman British ; plates V-XIV, coins of Carausius ; plates XV-XVII, coins of Allectus.

The British coins are preceded by a page or two in the way of a short treatise upon them. But British coins, now well understood, were just at that time (1847) extremely difficult to be explained. Ruding's classification had been overturned ; and still more so the ideas of all who preceded Ruding. British coins were, of course, peculiarly out of the province of the editor ; and notwithstanding his judgment and caution, he suffered some imaginary explanations of these ancient monies to be inserted, but luckily escaped the more numerous ones which might have been suggested to him by those who were eagerly pursuing the delusive theories of the day.

The British coins themselves in Plate I are well selected, and form a most interesting series. Mr. Evans has objected, in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, to fig. 50 in the plate, as being spurious, and from some incongruities it presents, it certainly is extremely suspicious. The other sixteen plates, as well as the first, are very highly illustrative of their subjects.

After this follow ten plates of fac-similes of manuscripts ;

seven Anglo-Saxon, and three in Latin. Next is inserted a map of Britain as in Roman times, compiled by Mr. William Hughes, Fellow of the Geographical Society.

Though Richard of Cirencester is professed to be abjured in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, p. 33, and very properly so, yet some data seem derived from him in this map, perhaps unconsciously: as the road from Londinium to Anderida, which is nowhere else to be found. Caledonia likewise, as in the map, seems, in several respects, to follow the apocryphal work we have just alluded to. For instance, there is no other authority for placing the Attacotti, the fierce race described as cannibals by St. Jerome in his *Treatise against Jovian*, c. ii., in the West, or the Horesti of Tacitus, mentioned in his *Agricola*, c. xxxviii., in the East. Camden was unacquainted with the position of the first, and was inclined to locate the last named race otherwise. (See his *Britannia*, edition 1607, pp. 91 and 691.) The Attacotti, we may suggest, were most probably Northern Picts. Many readers perhaps recollect Gibbon's remark relative to this people having been anciently inhabitants of the neighbourhood of Glasgow. His authority for the alleged fact was derived from Richard of Cirencester, whose works alone contain an assertion of the kind. The position assigned to the Horesti rests on the same dubious basis. Besides these uncertainties, which have been admitted, there are some other matters which come more decidedly under the head of errors. Thus the Cornavii, an ancient British state, are made to occupy part of the country of the Dobuni, another ancient state of the island; and the Segontiaci and Cangi are entirely left out.

We now come to a species of second division of this truly national publication: the editions of the early mediæval historians who mention British affairs. We shall just enumerate them in their due order, making some few remarks on the first two. We begin with

GILDAS. The introductory matter relating to this ancient historian is found in the Preface, pp. 59-62; a Chronology, at pp. 106-107; and the work itself is edited, pp. 1-46. The remarks are very illustrative in their way, though, strictly speaking, but little is explained in this obscure author. It has one favourable point, that it is edited entirely free from prejudice.

NENNIUS. The introductory matter to this author is at Preface, pp. 62-69; a Chronology, at pp. 107-114; and the work itself is edited, pp. 47-82. Mr. Petrie collated numerous manuscripts: indeed, even more than Mr. Stevenson, who, however, has two which he did not use. In the result we are supplied, in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, by the very great labour of the editor, with a text collated from about twenty-seven manuscripts. All pains were certainly taken to make the edition as complete as possible; and it would have been most especially so had it not been published before the appearance of the Dublin copy, which gave entirely new features to this ancient work, and alone has made a great part of it intelligible.

The others are, Bede, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Asser's Life of Alfred, Ethelwerd, Florence of Worcester, Simeon of Durham, Henry of Huntingdon, Gaimar, *Annales Cambriæ*, *Brut y Twysogion*, and the *De Bello Hastingnense Carmen*. These occupy from p. 83 to the end (p. 872), and the whole concludes with an "Index Rerum" and "Index Geographicus", and an "Index Nominum", to this portion of the work, which, like the other indexes, are very elaborate.

We have thus gone hastily through this remarkable volume, which has done great credit to the Record Commission, and, indeed, to the reign in which it was published.

CHAPTER VII.

EMBLEMS AND MEMORIALS OF THE EARLY CHRISTIANS IN BRITAIN.

It has been judged best, in order to give a view *in extenso*, and for a species of introduction to our subject, to reprint here a paragraph from the *Britannic Researches*, p. 418, which will accordingly follow thus:

"Respecting emblems and memorials of the early Chris-

tians in Britain. Some of the rude stone sepulchral obelisks of Wales, Cornwall, and Devonshire, of the fourth and fifth centuries, are so assigned; and the remains of a Roman-British sarcophagus, supposed Christian, were discovered at Barming, in Kent, some years since. (See Mr. C. Roach Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. i. p. 184.) On a pavement at Frampton, in Dorsetshire, the Greek monogram of our Saviour, the χ blended with the ρ , implying, in our letters, CHR., for *Christos*, was found. (See Lysons' *Reliquiæ Britannico-Romanæ*.) Likewise a cross appears in the Roman pavement at Harpole, in Northamptonshire, found a few years since, and described in Mr. Pretty's communication to the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* for 1850, p. 126."

The Greek monogram before mentioned, the $\chi\rho$, seems to have had some considerable currency in the West, as we have an instance in Mr. Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus*, where it forms a heading to the charters of the Saxon king Edgar, in 972, and Ædelred in 993, occurring in this form, $\chi\rho$.

In regard, likewise, to the Greek cross in its more customary form, besides the instance on the Harpole pavement, it occurs on a piece of Samian ware found at Catterick, the ancient Cataractonium, near the Roman Wall, now in Sir William Lawson's museum, and engraved in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. vi. p. 81.

In addition to the foregoing, there appear to be traces of the palm branch on a monumental inscription found at Caerleon, inserted after the first letter, the imperfect fragment reading, in its present state, D . . . SEMP . . . The form, D.M., was occasionally retained for several centuries, according to examples in the Catacombs in Rome, without reference to its original meaning. (*Archæologia Cambrensis*, vol. iv. p. 81, and plate of Caerleon antiquities, vii. fig. 3.) It should likewise not be omitted to notice that some inscriptions in Wales, obviously of early though uncertain date, in the Ogham character, are marked with crosses. Very early Christian monuments are likewise at Merthyr-mawr, in Wales. (*Ibid.*, pp. 314-318.) For an instance of a cross on an obelisk of the sixth century, see our previous page, 183.

Further on this topic, a remarkable bronze hair-pin, in

Mr. C. Roach Smith's museum of London antiquities (now secured for the public, and in the British Museum), should not be passed by without mention. It was found in the metropolis, and has at the top of it, for an ornament, a medallion of the size of a second brass Roman coin. There is a Christian representation on it, the subject being Constantine contemplating the cross. The cross has a triangular support at the foot; and immediately underneath is another cross, of four equal arms. This bronze hair-pin is well engraved in Mr. C. Roach Smith's *Museum Catalogue*, 8vo. 1854, p. 63; but there the cross is represented as issuing out of a circle of six dots, and one in the centre; which said circle is of the same character as the circles, believed to be Druidical, represented on ancient British and Gaulish coins. We do not think that this was intended by the ancient artist, whose date must have been about the year 450. On the contrary, the six dots and the one in the middle, so closely resembling a circle and its centre, are found, on close examination of the medallion itself, to be differently combined. The three uppermost ones form the bottom and supports of the cross, which is so conspicuous an object in the delineation; while the other four give a representation of a smaller cross, in the Greek form, at the foot of the first. Thus we understand the emblems as given on this portion of this curious and valuable medallion.

The figure whose eyes are seen intently gazing on the cross, whom we identify as Constantine, appears to be clad in a species of military surtout, and has on his breast another representation of the cross, of a very singular kind, which seems to show the high antiquity of this ornament. It is a cross as inserted in the ground, with two supports at the foot, and with the tablet for the inscription at the summit. The artist, perhaps, intended to convey the idea of the cross being impressed on his habiliments at the time the Roman emperor was favoured with the vision which formed so remarkable an event in his reign. (See Warburton's *Julian*, 8vo., 1750, pp. 125, 157.)

Particular attention seems also to have been paid to preserve, under whatever circumstances, the form of the Greek cross. Thus in the cross on which the eyes of the

figure repose with so much earnestness, the termination, according to the Greek form of the symbol, is marked at the proper place. The same with the cross on the breast. The Greek form of the cross as a symbol, seems to have become a national point with this people, from its being supposed the cross was seen in this configuration by Constantine when on his journey, and that it was inscribed in a circle. The modern Greeks in pictorial subjects represent the cross according to the Latin form, and it is even so accommodated in the present instance: though the due proportions of the Greek symbol, as above stated, are marked.

It is far from frequently that we find other examples of the sacred emblem of which we now treat similar to it in conformation; but we may note that three crosses of a very cognate description may be seen in Brenner's *Nummi Sueici*. This primitive form, therefore, is one of those which travelled north. They may be seen delineated in Mr. Wise's plate in his *Further Observations on the Berkshire White Horse*, 4to., 1742, p. 36.

We may, perhaps, add with propriety, that the basis or support of this cross appears to differ from the most customary forms. We will therefore endeavour to obtain some little illustration on the point.

The goddess of victory of the Romans was most commonly represented with wings: and the pagan Roman emperors, according to delineations on coins, often hold out such an image, standing on a globe, in one of their hands. The statue of winged victory was also set up in many parts of Rome, standing on a cylindrical altar; and this divinity, considered as a source of Roman power, was of course peculiarly venerated. But when Constantine, after his success against Maxentius, ascribed it to the cross of Christ, the credit of the pagan goddess of victory began to decline, and at last ceased to exist. The cross superseded it. Constantine the Great, indeed, according to his coins, retained it, together with the labarum, or standard inscribed with the monogram of Christ; and there was some struggle for about forty years connected with this mixture of the emblems of paganism and Christianity. For Constans, his son, having removed the altar of victory, succeeding emperors several times both restored and re-

moved it. (See St. Ambrose's *Works*, fol., Paris, 1690, ii, pp. 828-29.) At last the cross entirely superseded the image of pagan victory, both on the globe and on the altar. Hence we have the Cross-orb, which first appears on the coins of Theodosius the Great, afterwards so common; while on a reverse of one of the medals of Justinian we have the Cross and altar delineated, which likewise became in after times very frequent. These altars were usually represented in form of steps, in a somewhat pyramidal shape: and in this style, and with its accompaniment crosses on altars or steps, have got into modern heraldry, and are occasionally found in armorial emblazonments. It will be observed, that in the ancient representation of the symbol, as on our medallion, and on some of those engraved by Mr. Wise, instead of the appendages above alluded to, we have the two supports at the bottom. These our remarks on the cross and orb, and on the Cross and altar, may not be without their use, as showing that the representation in the present instance, as on the bronze hair pin, is neither of them; but, on the contrary, an ancient delineation, combining the Greek cross with the supposed actual basis of the real cross.

There is still one remark to be made on this very peculiar ornament. Whether it were manufactured in Britain or not we do not pretend to say. It might have been fabricated in Gaul, in Italy, or in Greece: but it was used in the ancient Londinium as a personal ornament. This enables us to class it among the early emblems of Christianity in Britain.

Lastly, we should not omit to add to our testimonies bearing on the ancient British church, the curious list of the earlier British bishops given by Johannes Phurnius, in his Catalogue of persons of the episcopal order from the first times of Christianity. Johannes Phurnius was a Byzantine writer of the beginning of the eleventh century; and thus was about contemporary with Canute the Great. But what adds the greater weight is, that he was an opponent to the Latin church; and consequently cannot be accused of being under its influence and adopting its legends. His list of the London bishops, beginning from the conversion of Lucius, is as follows:

1. Thean or Theonus; 2. Elvanus; 3. Cadoc or Cadocus; 4. Obuinus or Ovinus; 5. Conanus; 6. Palludius or Palladius; 7. Stephanus; 8. Iltutus; 9. Dedwin or Theodwinus; 10. Thedred or Theodredus; 11. Hillarius; 12. Guidelinus; 13. Vodinus, put to death by the Saxons; and 14. Theanus or Theonus. The twelfth and fourteenth of these names are mentioned in Tysilio's *Chronicle*, and the thirteenth in the *History* of Hector Boethius, which both receive most powerful confirmation from the circumstance.

One of the names, Theodred, is Saxonized, which appears to imply that these names came to Phurnius through Saxon literature. It is also observable, that between Nos. 13 and 14, that is between Vodinus and the last Theon, two or three names or more are omitted, as the space is somewhat considerable.

CHAPTER VIII.

CONSTANTINE THE GREAT SHOWN TO HAVE BEEN BORN IN BRITAIN.

WE have brought forward various details and particulars connected with this topic in the *Britannic Researches*, pp. 159-164, but it will be right to consider various additional facts, which will be found noted in Archbishop Usher's *Primordia*, pp. 93-103, which will tend to make our views on the subject clearer than they would otherwise be. Also we will add some further remarks of our own.

On the passage in Eumenius the orator, "O fortunate et nunc omnibus beatior terris Britannia quæ Constantinum Cæsarem prima vidisti!" that is, "O fortunate Britannia, and now happy before all lands, who first sawest Constantine Cæsar!" he observes that this cannot apply to his first receiving this dignity in Britain, as he became so in the first instance in Gaul. The point, how-

ever, is not so much the fact itself, as what the orator supposed the fact. It would seem to us somewhat unaccountable, that when Constantine was already of high rank, as heir-presumptive to the empire, so much stress should be laid in this and other passages, as to his first receiving this preliminary imperial honour in Britain, even if that were the case, or supposed to be the case; but, after all, it may be said, that the orators used their judgments as to the topics they should best apply in the way of panegyric, and there is accordingly no arguing on the point.

In favour of Constantine having been born in Britain, he quotes the Anglo-Saxon *Life of St. Helena*, written about the year 940; William of Malmesbury's *History*; the *Chronicles* of Dexter, and of Martin Polonius; Henry of Huntingdon's *History*; and John of Salisbury's *Poly-cration*; the *Poems* of Josephus Iscanus (Joseph of Exeter), and those of John Garland; as also the *History* of Polydore Vergil.

Further, he observes that the English deputies in the councils of Castile and Basil, in asserting precedence, affirmed the same thing: the latter in particular naming Paternna in York, the present Bederne; a division of the city in which the imperial palace was situated. He calls attention to the circumstance, that Henry of Huntingdon, Simeon of Durham, and Fitzstephens, affirm that St. Helena built the walls of London.

That Coel Goedhebaug, i.e. "Coel the hawk faced", had any connection with Colchester is only an idle tale, and has hurt the cause of research on the parentage of Constantine much: though the tradition has found its way on the arms of the town, which are a cross knotted between four crowns, alluding to the alleged discovery of the cross by St. Helena. The reader, perhaps, may be usefully reminded that the name Coel has no connection with Colchester (*Coloniæ castrum*): it is formed from two British words *Coes* and *illil*, i.e. the "priest king": and the import is, that Coel, a British prince or regulus, exercised some sacred function.

There are five places commonly assigned for the birth places of Constantine: (1) Britain; (2) Nyssa in Moesia; (3) Drepanum in Bythinia; (4) Persia; (5) Treves. Of

these the last, Treves, is only based on the slightest possible grounds, namely, the undoubted numerous endowments which the empress made there, which munificence may be the less thought of as rendered to an important frontier town, and the august lady having funds from the treasury, as Sulpitius Severus informs us (lib. ii), at her disposal for sacred uses. The fourth, Persia, where he was said to be born, when his father, Constantius, was sent by the emperor to collect tribute. This is averred by Gotheфриd in his *Chronicle*, and by Nicephorus Callistus (*Primordia*, p. 97). It is true that Constantius was in Persia; but were Constantine born when he was there, it would make him only twenty-two years old at his accession to the emperorship, whereas Eusebius expressly affirms that his age was thirty-two, all but a few months. Of the third, Drepanum in Bythinia, recorded as a report by Procopius Cæsariensis, the sole apparent basis is, that Constantine decorated and enlarged the city and called it Helenopolis; but he beautified and enlarged other cities elsewhere, and gave the name to one and the other of Helenopolis, so that no certain proof can be collected from this. Generally speaking, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the Byzantine Emperor who reigned between the years 911 and 957, excludes all places in Asia; for he expressly says in his work, *De Administrando Imperio*, c. 14, that Constantine had decreed that no Roman emperor should marry any but those that were of the Roman nation, except among the Franks, meaning Europeans, as then the term was in the East as now; and Constantinus Porphyrogenitus said that Constantine the Great enacted this because he had his origin from those parts himself.

For the second place in our list, Nyssa in Moesia, we must turn to a correspondence which took place between Camden and the celebrated Lipsius, in the year 1604. Camden had written to the great German scholar of the day to know his opinion on the point, alleging various arguments in favour of the British birthplace; to which Lipsius replied, expressing his dissent, and somewhat briefly, as he pleaded ill health. The Nyssa birthplace was one of the theories to which Camden alluded; and of this he says to this effect: "Firmicus is a good testimony, but the question is, what he says. Were he to hear what

is attributed to him in the usual interpolated printed editions, he certainly would not know or acknowledge his own words. He, in fact, only speaks of Constantius the son of Constantine having been born at Nyssa, as may be seen by consulting the manuscript of his work in Lincoln College, Oxford, and another belonging to a Mr. Thomas Allan at the same place. In those manuscripts, the person so born is stated as Constantinus (*i. e.*, Constantius) the Great, son of Constantine, a prince of august and venerated memory, who freed the world from tyranny and composed the domestic feuds in his family, etc., etc. This leaves the fact under no manner of doubt, as Julius Firmicus lived in the days of Constantius the son; who, as well as his father, had the title of Great beyond dispute; as it occurs in the legends of his moneys yet extant."

It is easy to see the origin of the mistake thus ably pointed out by Camden. Constantine was more known to posterity as the Great than his son, the name was therefore altered in the printed editions to suit the preconceived though erroneous idea.

Nyssa, then, being removed, Treves being only based on the most slender grounds, and Drepanum in Bythinia, and Persia being not possible, on the testimony of the Byzantine emperor whom we have quoted, we have only to revert to Britain, which remains the best supported. Lipsius objected to Camden, that Bede, in his *Æcclesiastical History*, does not name Britain; but Bede, who was an Anglo-Saxon, and jealous naturally of the Britons, might not think himself obliged to mention the circumstance.

There is every reason to think, when Britain became unpopular on the Continent among those of the Latin communion, from a reputed leaning to Pelagianism and the opposition of the Cambrian Church, that then the fact was attempted to be suppressed that he derived his origin from this country.

We must not omit another very strong and almost decisive proof. From a very lengthened series of German and Belgic Chronicles, which Usher enumerates in his *Primordia*, p. 103, most of which are actually as unknown in this country as if they had been written in Japan, it is evident that the tradition and opinion of the birth and

parentage of Constantine from Britain, was at that time the ancient and prevailing impression on the Continent, even in a stronger form than it existed in this country.

CHAPTER IX.

THE BELGIC GAULS, AND REMARKS ON THE CRANIOLOGY OF THE ANCIENT BRITONS.

JULIUS CÆSAR in his *Commentaries, Gaulish Wars*, ii, 4, tells us that the Germans passed the Rhine in primeval times in great force, and took possession of, and retained, the parts called Gallia Belgica, so that the territories of these new comers formed one third part of Gaul (*Gaulish Wars*, i, 1, and ii, 1). He says, besides, that they spoke a different language from that of the other Gauls (*Ibid.* i, 1), which, indeed, might have been readily supposed, were they actually Germans who crossed the Rhine. We, however, well know otherwise, from fragments of their language still remaining, that he is not to be understood literally; and that they only spoke a different dialect. It seems that there was a portion of the Celtic nation who lived across the Rhine, and, indeed, far to the north, as the Cimbri of Holstein (see Dr. Smith's *Dictionary of Biography, Mythology, and Geography*, 8vo., 1850); and there were also Celts, the Estii, who inhabited the modern Esthonia (Tacitus, *Germania*, xlv): and we may confidently say that the Germans who crossed the Rhine and invaded Gallia Belgica, as described by Cæsar, were not pure Germans, but were Celto-Germani, or Celtic-Germans, or Celts who had lived on the further side of the great river before mentioned, and so far had become Germanized. Had they been pure Germans, the Teutonic language would have been that spoken in Gallia Belgica: whereas it was a dialect, as we have observed, of the usual Celtic spoken in Gaul.

Cæsar, then, has thus described the Belgic Gauls arriv-

ing at their localities in Gaul. From Gaul they made three invasions into Britain, as is well known, and possessed themselves of the greater part of the island; indeed pretty much of all south of the Humber. (See the *Coins of Cunobeline*, p. 287.) On the other hand, the Caledonian Britons occupied a great part of the north of Britain (see Warrington's *History of Wales*, and other authorities): and we find from Bede's *History*, iii, c. 4, that the Southern Picts were intermingled with these on the south of Caledonia, as undoubtedly various states of the Northern Picts adjoined them in an opposite direction. The Picts, we need scarcely say, Southern and Northern, are believed to have had their origin from Ireland, as it is usually considered the late Mr. Herbert has proved in his *Cyclops Christianus*, as also in his notes to the Dublin edition of *Nennius*.

We have specified three Gallo-Belgic invasions of Britain; however, we should add, that there is no trace that the country of the Brigantes was overrun on any of these occasions; or the country of the Dumnonii either, till a very late period. Indeed we cannot find that the successors of Aedd-Mawr, the leader of the Belgic Gauls in the first invasion, ever possessed the country of the Brigantes. *Triads* 7 and 15, which mention the Coranians who formed the second invasion, acquaint us only that they were settled about the Humber; however, as there is considered no manner of doubt that the Coranians were the Icenii Coritani, it is well known they did not pass that river. In regard to the third invasion, that under Divitiacus, mentioned by Cæsar in his *Commentaries*, it is a clear case that it only extended to the south of Britain.

The above data have been collected to show that uniform results are not to be expected in craniological explorations of the inhabitants of this island, even in the British period, there being then a mixture of various races. There is every reason to believe that there was not in those ages one form of skull among them; and that no more can be presumed than that though the retreating form of the forehead might have been predominant, yet that there was a mixture also of other forms. We see among the modern Welsh other forms prevail as well as the retreating ones. We have a recent instance where tumuli in Derbyshire, extremely ancient, opened by Mr. Bateman,

a gentleman skilled in these researches, which, from his description, must have been Celtic, though he did not appear to be aware of that point, presented skulls high and perpendicular, and boat-shaped (see the *Journal of the British Archæological Association* for 1851, p. 211). On the other hand, a Celtic interment at Allington, near Maidstone, described by the author in the same publication for 1848, p. 65, contained a skull of a retreating form, which is now in the Museum at Dover. These are contradictory results. In short, we may form a safe conclusion, that as Teutonic words are numerous in the modern Welsh language, as noticed by Adelung, the German scholar, and by Price, the editor of Wharton's *History of Poetry*, and as skulls of very opposite forms prevail among the modern Welsh population, these mixed results as to the craniological characteristics of the ancient British inhabitants will be found to prevail, as indeed they have hitherto done.

It will be thus seen that the subject of the craniology of primeval Britain must needs be an arduous one. Those who undertake it should study attentively the ethnology of the various British tribes; as also ascertain with great precision the due classification of the tumuli examined, whether Celtic or Anglo-Saxon. It is only by cautiously proceeding that valuable results can be obtained. We may here take occasion to congratulate those who take an interest in ancient Britain, that a work from Dr. Thurnam on the subject, a gentleman eminent for scientific knowledge, is now announced as about to issue from the press.

Whatever craniological investigations are or may be undertaken relating to the ancient islanders, the organ of pugnacity will no doubt be a prominent characteristic if they be faithfully made; wars appearing to have been frequent among them.

There is a passage in the work of Pomponius Mela, *De Situ Orbis*, book iv, relating to this topic, which we may give: "Causas tamen bellorum et bella contrahunt, ac se frequenter invicem infestant, maxime imperitandi cupidine, studioque ea prolatandi quæ possident," *i.e.*, "they excite wars and the causes of wars, and attack one another, chiefly from the desire of sway and extending the bounds of their territories." As Pomponius Mela wrote

in the year A.D. 44, these observations of his might at first be thought to refer more particularly to the then recent war of the sons of Cunobeline with the confederacy of the Belgæ, under Vericus their king: but, apparently, the context shows that he alluded to various wars in preceding times, notorious enough in those days, in the course of which the dominions of Cunobeline, those of the Iceni, and of the Brigantes were consolidated to their full extent.

CHAPTER X.

ROMAN STRATEGICAL WORKS IN CENTRAL BRITAIN: OR THE CHAIN OF INTRENCHED CAMPS FORMED AGAINST THE ICENI BETWEEN THE YEARS 50 AND 62.

No one seems at present to have satisfactorily pointed out the forts and camps formed by the Romans at the end of the year 49 and beginning of the year 50, in their war under Ostorius with the Silures, which camps are described by Tacitus, in his *Annals*, xii, 31, as incircling the Severn, and Warwickshire Avon. These camps it was, which, being extended towards the north, into the countries of the Cornavii or Cangi, that is, into the southern parts of those states, Shropshire and Staffordshire, proved the cause of the first Icenian war. The said camps, there is no doubt, even at the present day, can be found and identified, but they have not been so yet; and our present subject will be a second set of camps, a *Linea castrorum*, which, though unmentioned by history, we judge and conclude that there is good reason to suppose that the Romans formed against the Iceni, to keep them in check after the war; because the line of camps still remains as presumptive evidence of the fact.

The first war of the Romans with the Iceni, brought about, as we have seen, by the demonstration against the Silures, was a very short one, and as it was evidently

hastily entered into, so, after one defeat, a temporising policy induced Prasutagus—admitting he were on the Icenian throne at the time—to submit. The line of the camps shows that the Romans did not trust the Iceni, and that they formed this species of substantial guarantee to insure the continuance of their submission. It so happens that neither Camden, Gibson, Roy, King, Hoare, or Reynolds, have noticed this range of works: nor has any other topographer or antiquary, and it has remained overlooked till quite recently.

It was in the year 1818 that Mr. Thomas John Lloyd Baker, F.S.A., then engaged in exploring some antiquities in Gloucestershire, observed a line of fortified camps and works extending across that county to the eastward. He examined those camps, and the fruits of his researches appear in vol. xix of the *Archæologia*, pp. 161-175. He likewise noticed the line of camps extending further to the east; but made no further explorations himself, nor suspected the real strategical object of those he discovered. A few years later, Mr. Pretty, of Northampton, continued the researches, examining those of Northamptonshire and others more to the westward of that county; but his map on the subject was not published till the year 1854, when it appeared in vol. xxxv of the *Archæologia*, and the use and intention of the works at length became evident. We are now able to see the method of proceeding of the Romans. If the enemy, that is, the neighbouring power against whom they wished to make a line of defence, was very formidable, they had a regular ditch and rampart, fortified at intervals with towers or castles, drawn across the country, as at the Roman Wall; if the adjoining power was not so formidable, they had merely a line of camps, forts, and speculative tumuli, otherwise called beacons, as in the present instance.

We have mentioned Mr. Pretty's map, which is a useful document for the illustration of the Midland counties; and it is but fair to say that, as well as being the only record of the eastern portion of the camps of which we have treated, as Mr. Baker's is of the western, it contains a vast mass of information as to the stations, Roman roads and beacons, which are abundant in that tract. Mr. Pretty, though, perhaps, he may be best known for his

being conversant with church architecture, at the same time is very pre-eminently acquainted with the earth-works, beacons, stations, and itinerary communications of ancient Britain: in all which subjects his correct knowledge is highly efficient in illustrating objects of research.

CHAPTER XI.

THE ROMAN WALLED TOWNS IN BRITAIN.

THIS topic, in whatever point we view it, is one of unquestionable interest; for it cannot be disputed that the walled cities and towns in this island were those places to which the conquerors of the world the more especially directed their attention; beginning with their capital, Eburacum, first in order, and descending to the simple walled station occupied by a single cohort. There might certainly have been towns of consequence in Britain unwalled; and undoubtedly there were such in cases in which, either there was a walled town of importance near, or when such towns were in the territories of native princes, and not permitted to be walled; as might be various towns of the Dumnonii, Belgæ, Brigantes, and Dobuni, which, of course, would form some species of exception. These considerations may be useful in treating of the subject viewed as a whole, there being scarcely an instance of a walled town in a powerful subordinate British state, unless it were a Roman garrison.

There is an inquiry sufficiently obvious in our present research, which, before proceeding further, we shall do well to attend to, as it will contribute to illustrate our knowledge of ancient British affairs, namely, the motives for which these mural defences in the various instances were made; and these can usually be pretty clearly set forth, and we may classify them as under.

1. To give this additional defence to the capital cities of the island, the chief seats of the Roman power.

II. To form permanent places of defence against the descents of the Saxons, or other rovers of the sea.

III. Ditto, against the Scots and Picts; and to constitute a continued line of fortifications across the island, from Solway Firth to the Tyne.

IV. For garrisons in the states of native princes.

These may be regarded their principal objects; nor are we to suppose that there are many exceptions to these views. However, we will first give an enumeration of the places which we believe to come under our present category, and afterwards we may make some further arrangement of them. Here then will follow the detail of the majority of walled Roman cities, towns, and stations of this island; and first those of Britain generally, afterwards those along the line of the Roman Wall.

Portus Adurni, *Bramber*; Anderida, *Pevensea*; Ariconium, Bury Hill, near Ross; Banovallum, *Horncastle*; Branodunum, *Brancaaster*; Bremenium, *High Rutchester*; Caractonium, *Catterick*; Camulodunum, *Colchester*; Clausentum, *Bittern*, where, however, only foundation walls remain; Corinium, *Cirencester*; Derventio, *Little Chesters*, near Derby; Deva, *Chester*; Dubris, *Dover*; Durnovaria, *Dorchester*; Durovernum, *Canterbury*; Eboracum, *York*; Garionnonum, *Burgh Castle*; Isca Dumnoniorum, *Exeter*; Isca Silurum, *Caerleon*; Iscalis, *Ilchester*; Isurium, *Aldborough*; Portus Lemanis, *Lymne*; Lindum, *Lincoln*; Londinium, *London*; Magnæ, *Kenchester*; Name unknown, *Chesterford*; Name unknown, *Circumvallation at Farley Heath*; Name unknown, *Felixstow*; Name unknown, *Irchester*, in Northamptonshire. At this place there was a square walled station, the area comprising sixteen acres, and the walls, now removed, were eight feet thick; Othona, *Walton on the Naze*; Portus Magnus, *Portchester*; Ratæ, *Leicester*; Regulbium, *Reculver*; Rutupium, *Richborough*; Segontium, near *Carnarvon*. This is mentioned in Bingley's *Excursions in South Wales*, 8vo., 1839. He describes that the form of the Roman town at this place was oblong, occupying about six acres of land; and notes that the modern road from Beddgelert to Carnarvon divides it into two parts. The fort connected with the place, he informs us, stood near. This also was of an oblong figure, comprising one acre. The walls of it are at present about

eleven feet high, and six in thickness ; and there was formerly a tower at each corner. A curious appearance is exhibited of perforations through these walls, the uses of which are unknown. They are thus described by Mr. Bingley. " Along these walls there are three parallel rows of circular holes, each nearly three inches in diameter, which pass through the entire thickness, and at the ends are others of a similar kind. *Portus Segantiorum, Ribchester* ; *Solidunum, or Aquæ Solis, Bath* ; *Sorbiodunum, Old Sarum* ; *Venta Belgarum, Winchester* ; *Venta Icenorum, Castor*, near Norwich, for a good account of which see Britton and Bayley's *Beauties of England and Wales* ; *Venta Silurum, Caerwent* ; *Verulamium, Verulam* ; *Vindomum, Silchester* ; *Vinovium, Binchester* ; *Urioconium, Wroxeter*.

Various of the above walled towns and stations are mentioned by Nennius, as under.

Portus Adurni.	.....
Ariconium.	Caer Gwortigern.
Anderida.	Caer Pensa.
Banovallum.	.....
Branodunum.	.....
Bremenium.	.....
Camulodunum.	Caer Colun.
Caractonium.	.....
Clausentum.	.....
Corinium.	Caer Ceri.
Derventio.	.....
Deva.	Caer Ligion.
Dubris.	.....
Durnovaria.	.....
Durovernum.	Caer Ceint.
Eboracum.	Caer Ebrauc.
Garionnonum.	.....
Glevum.	Caer Glovi.
Isca Dumnoniorum	.....
Isca Silurum.	Caer Lion.
Portus Lemanis.	.....
Lindum.	Caer Luitcoit.
Londinium.	Caer Londein.
Othona.	.....
Portus Magnus.	Caer Peris.

Ratæ.	Caer Leirion.
Regnum.	.....
Regulbium.	.....
Rutupium.	.....
Segontium.	Caer Custeint.
Portus Segantiorum.	.....
Solidunum.	.....
Sorbiodunum.	Caer Caratauc.
Venta Belgarum.	Caer Guint.
Venta Icenorum.	Caer Guintwic.
Verulamium.	Caer Mencipit.
Vindomum.	Caer Segeint.
Vinovium.
Uriconium.	Caer Urnach.

Along the Wall.

Luguballium.	Caer Luillid.
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The cities mentioned by Nennius, not in the above list, are Caer Gwrcoc, Caer Guorangon, Caer Guin Truis, Caer Merdin, Caer Grant, Caer Britoc, Caer Maniguid, Caer Gurcon, Caer Draithou (Dindraithon, in Cornwall, Arthur's capital. See *Vespasian*, A, xiv), Caer Teim, and Caer Celemion.

Walled stations and towns along the Roman Wall, in order, from west to east.—Tunnocellum, *Boulness*; Gabrosentium, *Drumbargh*; Axelodunum, *Brough on the Sands*; Luguballium, *Carlisle*; Congavata, *Stanwix*; Aballava, *Watch Cross, or Scalesby Castle*; Petriana, *Cambeck Fort*; Ambo-glanna, *Burdoswald*; Magna, *Caer Voran*; Æsica, *Great Chesters*; Vindolana, *Little Chesters*; Borcovicus, *Housesteads*; Procolitia, *Carranburgh*; Cilurnum, *Walwich Chesters*; Hunnum, *Halton Chesters*; Vindobala, *Rutchester*; Condercum, *Benwell Hill*; Pons Ælii, *Newcastle*; Segedunum, *Wall's End*.

We may further, in the way of classification, arrange these walled places in various divisions.

Cities which have at various epochs been considered as metropolitan.—Londinium; Eburacum, from about the beginning of the third century; and Vindomum or Silchester, shortly after the Romans left.

Cities next in magnitude and importance, some of them capitals of Roman Provinces or British States.—Camulodunum, Glevum, Deva, Iscalis, Corinium, Aquæ Solis or

Solidunum, Verulamium, Lindum, Uriconium, Durnovaria, Venta Belgarum, Venta Icenorum, Regnum, Durovernum, Chesterford, Venta Silurum, Ratæ, and Isca Silurum.

Minor cities and towns.—Dubris, Iscalis, Isurium, Magnæ, Irchester, Rutupium, Segontium, Ariconium, Portus Segantiorum, Sorbiodunum, Portus Magnus, Anderida, Derventio, Caractonium, Clausentum, and Vinovium.

Roman Stations merely.—Portus Adurni, Banovallum, Branodunum, Gariannonum, Portus Lemanis, Othona, Regulbium, and one or two others with their names unknown, as that at Felixstow, and the Roman Station at Farley Heath.

Fortified places along the Roman Wall.—These, as mentioned before, were all walled stations merely, except one town, Luguballium.

GENERAL RESULTS.—According to the above enumeration we have just sixty-six walled Roman towns and stations in Britain, of which nineteen are along the line of the Roman Wall, or not far in the rear of it. Of the whole number, thirty-three are of the nature of military stations or forts, viz., nineteen along the Wall, as above noted, and fourteen in other parts of Britain, viz., Portus Adurni, Anderida, Branodunum, Bremenium, Clausentum, Deva, Gariannonum, Portus Lemanis, Othona, Regulbium, Rutupium, Venta Belgarum, Venta Icenorum, and Venta Silurum. The other thirty-three are cities and towns, of which twenty-one are mentioned by Nennius, and twelve unmentioned.

In respect to the question of the respective magnitude of these cities, it possibly may not be wide of the truth to assign about eighty acres for the original size of the largest of them, for the area comprised within the walls. For instance, such would have been about the size of Londinium, Vindomum, Camulodunum, Venta Belgarum, etc. From this magnitude there was a variety of gradations, down to an area of about fourteen or fifteen acres, which appears to have been the size assigned to the Roman towns and cities in this country of the smallest class, such as might be Anderida, and various others. This refers, of course, to the degree of importance attached to the town or city at the time of forming the walls; since many of their towns grew out afterwards to be places of much

more consideration than they seem at first to have anticipated: for instance, Eburacum, the ultimate capital of the island. This they intended merely for a small place at first, as its area only comprised about fifteen acres, and they never subsequently enlarged the walls; hence it is clear, that at the time of circumvallating, they were not aware how severe the pressure from the Caledonians would become in this part of the island; necessitating them to keep a legion here and to make this city their head quarters, and their place of arms and rallying point for their northern army; indeed, causing them to have here their imperial palace. See Wellbeloved's *Eburacum*, 8vo., 1842, pp. 62, 63.

The walled sites of less than the above sizes, it may be surmised, were originally only intended for cohort stations; such as Lemanis, Regulbium, Rutupium, and Banovallum, each respectively about ten, eight, six, and five acres, and constructed apparently for one or two cohorts. There is one, it seems, near Carnarvon, comprising no more than one acre; and small camps with earthen ramparts, of about the same dimensions and apparently Roman, may be found here and there about the country. Though, indeed, otherwise, the intrenched earthworks, the "castra estiva", so often met with, very frequently much exceed the dimensions of the walled towns and stations; there being some which comprise within their area one hundred and twenty acres or more.

In respect to the thickness of their walls: it appears to have been usually about eleven feet, intended, possibly, for twelve Roman ones; but it was sometimes no more than six or eight, as in the case of the nameless town near Irchester. Of their height we are not able so well to judge, they being now usually so much reduced in this respect. The ancient walls of Anderida, or Pevensea, are, however, still from twenty-five to thirty feet high; to which the battlements, when perfect, must of course have made some addition.

Of detached towers of undoubted Roman construction, scarcely a specimen remains in this country, though delineations of them are frequent in the ancient *Notitia Imperii*, or Roman Office Book; and the model of one has been found at Pompeii. A square solid foundation, however,

three-quarters of a mile south of Word or Worth, near Sandwich, on the coast, mentioned in Boys' *History* of that place, is supposed to indicate the site of such a tower. But this must be somewhat uncertain; and it is difficult to pronounce what further instances may exist in other parts of the island, real or reputed, of this kind.

ON THE WHY AND WHEREFORE OF THE SAXONS SO PERSEVERINGLY DESTROYING THE ROMAN BRITISH WALLED TOWNS, AS ALSO THEIR COUNTRY VILLAS, ON THEIR OBTAINING TERRITORIES IN BRITAIN.

1. The Saxons, it is evident from the *Saxon Chronicle* (years 473 and 552 *et alibi*), most usually were masters in the field, and became possessed of the open country.

2. The walled towns were severally so many fortresses held against them, and by which also the Britons retained their hold of various parts of the country.

To counteract these obstacles they arranged to take the towns, and then to dismantle all their defences. Their chief means to do this were the constructing and collecting what we may call a large park of battering-rams (*crebri arietes*, *i.e.*, very numerous battering-rams, Gildas, c. 24). They approached the walls, without doubt, in the same way as Aurelius Ambrosius is described in Hector Boethius, as attacking Vortigern in his fortress, that is, by filling up the ditch at the places intended to be attacked, with earth, faggots, etc.

Having obtained an entrance into the place by breaching with their park of battering-rams, or by firing the gates, or by both processes, they immediately began the work of slaughter on the defenders and wretched inhabitants found in the town, and set the whole place on fire (Gildas, *ibid.*); which we know from evidence of the sites of former Roman British towns showing still their foundations, and marks of their modes of destruction by fire, which has been effectual in destroying them down to the present day. No Pindar's house was spared, as was done by Alexander the Great at Thebes; no favour or affection was shown; but they all went to the ground,—houses, lofty buildings, and towers, and the temples and

basilicas also, which had then become Christian churches. (Gildas, *ibid.*)

But as the solid town or city walls would not burn, before they left they disembattled all these defences, throwing down all the merlons and top defences, and obliterating the embrasures. They also made extensive breaches, at various places, of the walls with the powerful means of demolition at their disposal, of which we have before spoken. It almost grieves us to record such desolation; however, historical truth, which we have undertaken to tell, obliges.

But it may be asked, Why did they destroy the country villas? The reason is, that they were not suitable habitations in localities in which a continual war was carried on. The Saxon wars lasted, at one stretch, one hundred and thirty-two years, with two brief intervals of two and ten years respectively. (See *Britannic Researches*, p. 412.) The villas would have required, in times of peace and tranquillity, a large establishment of slaves used to civilized life, to be inhabited comfortably. Roman British villas were adapted to persons of somewhat refined habits; but the Saxons were to a man warriors, and uncertain when they might be called to take the field, or in what direction they might march. Add to this, it plainly appears the dwellings they had been accustomed to were formed quite on a different principle. Their abodes were apartments with the hearth in the centre, and with an opening in the roof for escape of the smoke. The larger specimens of these were dilated, in after times, to the Anglo-Saxon hall, while the smaller ones were the cabins of the poor. The Romano-British villas were therefore useless to the Anglo-Saxons; and they at once burnt them when they obtained possession of them. Mutual resentments, we must remember, ran high; and there is even reason to suppose, that, like the Picts (See Buchanan's *Historia Schoticorum*, 8vo., 1643, p. 137), they burnt all the agricultural carriages, ploughs, implements, and tools, they met with.

So we account for the entire destruction of the Romano-British walled towns and the Romano-British villas. As to the first, there is not a single specimen of a Roman embattled town wall left in all England, though we have walls of theirs twenty-five or thirty feet high, as at Peven-

sea, still remaining, which must have reached up nearly to the battlements. Nor did the Saxons make many military works of their own, as they were accustomed to stand well up in fight against their enemies; so there is scarce a trace of them left behind. There are a few possibly attributable to them, as Chesmunds, near Minster, in the Isle of Thanet, in which quarter they first landed; and the *Saxon Chronicle* for the year 893 speaks of a mud fort or two at the mouths of estuaries, which appear to have been defended by the rustics of the neighbourhood. They did not even make their moated mansions till some centuries later, when the fear of the Danes in a manner constrained them. When these last people (the Danes) succeeded in gaining a footing in the country, they rather more resorted to earthworks, which are often found on promontories and elsewhere.

Regarding the humble nature of the dwellings of the Anglo-Saxons: delineations in ancient manuscripts seem to bear out our ideas most fully. A collection of the unpretending edifices of the thane and his dependants, in an enclosure surrounded by a slight ditch and embankment, with palisade, formed the Saxon town; and in respect to the domestic architecture of the island in the middle ages, there does not appear to have been large and commodious dwellings formed from the time the Romans left, in 423, to about the year of the Christian era, 1200: even then it was rare for houses to be constructed of aught else than timber. Mr. Hodgson tells us, in his *History of Northumberland*, that stone buildings were not allowed, as being capable of being converted into fortifications. This, of course, obstructed domestic architecture, as we may naturally suppose but few could obtain the license to embattle,—the *licentiam krenellare*,—and therefore were prevented from forming the more substantial class of edifices.

To return to the Saxons. Their pugnacious qualities seem to have been much relinquished after the British wars had ceased, and they had subsided into one sole monarchy. This is pretty evident, as we find that when, somewhat later in their history, the Danes assailed them, they were in an unprepared state; and, indeed, themselves suffered a species of repetition, from those invaders, of the

same evils they had inflicted on the Britons two or three centuries before. From being devastators, they had become great cultivators of the soil. There is a very ready proof of this in the circumstance, that where ancient names of farms and estates can be traced, they are usually found to be of Saxon derivation. Numerous ancient terms connected with land are derived from them; soccage tenures and many ancient payments and customs; making good our above assertion of their becoming great agriculturists; though we may not adopt the idea of Aubrey in his *Miscellanies* (8vo., 1723, p. 27), that their very kings were no more than a species of farmers.

CHAPTER XII.

NOTES ON THE CAREER OF CARAUSIUS; AND SOME OBSERVATIONS ON HIS COINS.

It can be easily imagined that the life of this adventurer, who raised himself from a naval commander to be an associate in the Roman empire with Diocletian and Maximian, and obtained entire possession of Britain, and retained it for seven years, must have been full of incident; but, nevertheless, the strictly authentic details of it are come down to us extremely meagre. They tell us that he was a citizen of Menapia, which, however, is a place of undefined situation, it being not known whether the same were Menavia in Wales, or a town in Ireland or Belgium. After all, this information does not acquaint us with the place of his birth, as citizenship is a thing that may be acquired by purchase or grant, as well as being obtained by birth. In the sequel they inform us that he was appointed Roman admiral against the pirates,—Saxons, we may understand,—and cleared the seas with success; but, in the end, was accused of encouraging piracy to share the booty. Besides, we are informed he commanded on

shore, in Gaul, against certain insurgents called the Bagaudæ, who are otherwise nearly unknown in history. The station of his fleet, latterly, appears to have been Gessoriacum, or Boulogne, which place he occupied as a garrison. Maximian determined to capture him, and put him to death; and he being besieged in Gessoriacum, and apprehensive that the port would be closed by the channel from the sea being filled up with stones, left the town with his fleet for Britain. Being arrived there, he gained over, or subdued, the troops, and held possession of the island for seven years, till he was assassinated by his associate, viceroy, or lieutenant, Allectus; who, after him, held the sway in Britain for three years, till he was killed in a battle with the Roman army on their landing; when the country reverted again to the domination of the Romans.

Such are the principal facts relating to Carausius; and as his usurpation took place in the height of the Roman coining era, he has left a most profuse coinage; as has also, indeed, Allectus, his successor.

Various literati have thought that the history of Carausius was one which admitted of much illustration. There are some small additaments, even in Tysilio's *History*; but the Scotch *Chronicles* are the most prominent in having materials, though doubtfully added to the story. It was reserved for Genebrier, a Frenchman, to be the first to take the subject numismatically in hand; which he did, though he was supplied with but few specimens, in a quarto volume published in Paris in 1740. Stukeley also touched on the subject in some of his publications, which occasioned a controversial tract to appear from the pen of Mr. North, and two from Dr. Kennedy, a numismatic collector. The two last were in quarto, printed in 1751 and 1756. Stukeley published his two quartos in 1757 and 1759, in which he engraved a multitude of coins, and gave loose, somewhat extravagantly, to his fancy. Dr. Stukeley gave an unwarrantable latitude, indeed, to the numismatic science, supposing that every coin which had on its reverse a heathen deity was struck on the day of the festival of that deity, and commemorated some event which the representation of that deity would symbolize. Thus we have dates in abundance, ostentatiously given, and yet, in fact, without the least authority. At the same time, the

work contains some valuable information. Dr. Kennedy, again, attacked his numismatic positions in a dissertation entitled a *Letter to Dr. Stukeley on the first part of his Medalllic History of Carausius*, 4to., pp. 9, no date. Some years later, another dissertation appeared, attributed to Dr. Pegge. This was entitled *A History of Carausius, in reference to what has been advanced on the Subject by Genebrier and Stukeley*, pp. 62, 4to., 1762. Dr. Kennedy, a practical numismatist, appealed to the evidences of the coins themselves, and had some of the best specimens engraved which could be procured; and plainly showed, as far as he went, many errors of Dr. Stukeley; and the author of the *History* did the same.

It may be easy enough to fall into Stukeley's errors, or similar ones, on the one hand; and, on the other hand, not to advance the subject one whit. Thus placed between two dangers, placed between Scylla and Charybdis, we will only venture a few notes.

In the first instance, we should say that there are no other sources or means of information which appear to throw so much light on the obscurer parts of the history of Carausius, as the Scotch Chronicles. These may be despised and spoken against; but with their comment and explanation everything respecting this commander becomes far better illustrated and understood. In two points there is a special obscurity about the history of this man, which are, his first rise to power, and his gaining over the Roman army when he landed as a species of fugitive in the island.

The Chronicles we have spoken of, the Chronicles of Scotland, in reference to this, give accounts of the origin and rise of this person very different from those in Eutropius, Aurelius Victor, and the sources usually quoted. It may be asserted with much confidence, that where classic authors give narratives of events, and the Chronicles in giving their accounts forbear to quote them at all, it is a proof that they have their own sources of information; so in this case, Hector Boethius, John de Fordun, and, after them, Buchanan, though they might have quoted Aurelius Victor and Eutropius, yet give a very varying statement of the origin of Carausius from what is found in those authors.

Aurelius Victor says that Carausius was a Menapian, by which seems very commonly understood a Belgian, and Eutropius adds, of very mean birth. Orosius follows Eutropius; but the *Life of St. Geryon* by Helinandus, an author of the twelfth century, as quoted by Dr. Kennedy in his *First Dissertation*, p. 6, says to the contrary. To this last testimony the Chronicles of Scotland agree, which make him of consanguinity with the king of the Scots in Caledonia, and driven away to wander on the seas, from a feud and bloodshed which had there occurred in the court of the king, in which the king's brother had fallen by his hand. They state that he went to Rome, and offered his services to the Emperor Carus, and so obtained his first promotion. They pretty much fall in with the usual account in his subsequent history, except as we may specify presently. With regard to his name, they give it uniformly "Carantius", and in so doing there is an agreement with them and the British Chronicles, which have Caron, which apparently implied Guorong, or commander,—a term which, it seems, at some period after the Saxon invasion, became obsolete. As to the name Carausius. When this person began to mint money, he might then, or might not, have adopted it in that form; as the Roman emperors seem then to have fixed some particular style for their medallion issue. Thus Caracalla neither minted under that name, nor Bassianus, his other appellation, but under the name of Antoninus. (See Mr. Akerman's *Coins of the Romans relating to Britain*, 8vo., 1844, pp. 50, 61.) Hadrian also somewhat altered his name when he struck money. The name Carausius has the appearance of being formed from that of the Emperor Carus, who, Boethius informs us, much patronized Carausius when he served under him.—In this way we may speculate on this point.

The Chronicles of Scotland thus, as we may again remark, disagree *in toto* with classic authors as to the origin of Carausius. The subject of this navigator seems to have been one that was despised by the classic authors who have mentioned him; for they speak of him as a pirate. They might, therefore, have the less accurately investigated his origin; while with the Chronicles of Scotland it evidently appears to have been a cherished subject, and they might be expected to be accurate in respect to him.

Were he of royal consanguinity, it certainly would better explain his rapid advancement, and the trust reposed in him, than if he were "vilissimè natus", i.e. most humbly born, as Eutropius says of him.

The Chronicles of Scotland likewise give a detailed and consistent account of his coming over from Boulogne to Britain. They say he fetched a compass round the south of the kingdom, sailed up the Irish Channel, and landed in Valentia, i.e. the country of the Brigantes; where, after a time, he was able to open a communication with the Scots, and having done so, he gradually obtained possession of Britain. They give some few further details, for which the Chronicles themselves must be referred to, the account being long, occupying the greater part of thirteen closely printed folio pages. (See Boethii *Scotorum Historia*, Paris, fol. 1575, p. 91, etc.)

Not to omit what they say respecting his end. They describe Allectus as sent from Rome to oppose him, who, after a time, affects to join him; when at length, treacherously seizing an opportunity, he assassinates and beheads him, and assumes himself the chief power. The least said is of the transactions of Carausius in Gaul, which, in the usual accounts, are the more fully treated of. The statement as to Allectus, it will be observed, somewhat reconciles the account as in the classics with that in the British Chronicles relating to that person; of whom we have certainly but a very dubious account. We will only observe of him, that the name Allectus appears to be titular, implying the same, indeed, as Eutropius calls him, that is, "Associate". Allectus was a common term among the Romans for any one elected or chosen to any office.

Eumenius, a panegyric writer, in describing the success of Carausius, has the expression, "occupatâ legione Romanâ", which most obviously means, "the Roman legion being gained over, or got under his control"; but it may also mean, "being on service". The Scotch Chronicles favour the latter sense, or rather both senses, as the legion, according to them, was actually in the field against the Scots and Picts, who had made an inroad beyond the Wall; and Carausius, they add, being apprized of it when he quitted Boulogne with his fleet and forces, instead of going straight across to Britain, to the nearest seaports,

navigated round Cornwall and Wales, and landed, as we have said before, in the country of the Brigantes; that is, in Westmoreland or Lancashire, whence he marched forward till he joined the legion, which he persuaded to make common cause with him.

The fate of another usurper in Britain, who preceded Carausius but a very few years, is thus narrated by *Zonaras*, c. 29, the date assignable appearing to be the year 276:—"A certain other person stirred up a revolt in Britain, whom Probus had placed over the government (*i.e.* appointed *vicarius*) at the request of Victorinus Maurusius, who was his friend. Probus hearing of the insurrection, accused Victorinus of being the cause of it (as having recommended the rebel for the government). On this Maurusius begged to be sent to him, and, pretending to be a fugitive from the emperor, was cordially received by the usurper; and, in the result, having contrived to despatch him, he returned to Probus."

The coins, both of Carausius and Allectus, are exceedingly numerous; but want of space compels one to do no more than barely notice their existence. But very few seem to have been struck to commemorate particular events, and where the inscriptions are only of a general nature, as *VIRTUS AUGUSTI*, *PROVIDENTIA AUGUSTI*, *PROSPERITAS AUGUSTI*, *SALUS AUGUSTI*, or the like, no historical point is gained. His coin inscribed on the reverse *VITAVI* is possibly a forgery, or a misread piece of one of the types of the succeeding emperor Victorinus (see Mr. Akerman's *Coins of the Romans relating to Britain*, 8vo., 1844, p. 114), whilst some other types inscribed *EXPECTATE VENI*, *COMES AUG*, *VICTORIA GERMANICA*, *CARAVSIVS ET FRATRES SVI*, *i.e.*, Diocletian and Maximian, *PRINCEPS IVVENTVTIS*, and *ROMANO(RUM) RENOV(ATIO)*, there is every reason to suppose are genuine. Several of his types have the contraction *AUG*, with three G's, which, when it is used, the three emperors then on the Roman imperial throne are to be understood as meant, *i.e.*, Diocletian, Maximian, and Carausius. Mr. C. Roach Smith, Mr. Akerman, and other good authorities, seem to consider it doubtful if Diocletian ever returned the compliment; viewing those coins of Diocletian which have the three G's as being struck by Carausius himself. The strange legend on a coin of

Carausius, I. O. X., interpreted "Io Imperator x," Dr. Kennedy says should read, PAX.

The valuable work of Mr. Akerman, on the *Coins of the Romans relating to Britain*, may be consulted with advantage for those of Carausius, and we may escape censure, perhaps, in endeavouring to give a general view of the nature and scope of his coinage.

His coinage, then, suggests the following ideas to us, namely, that having obtained Britain, he endeavoured to retain the possession of it by a body of Roman or Roman-British inhabitants, whom he called his senate, and by his legions and other troops. His coins entirely follow the Roman imperial custom of not being inscribed with the names of towns; but if we judge right, they are plentifully enough inscribed with the names of the soldiery and of the senate. We must bring forward a few instances to make good this point.

We would, in all cases, interpret the M.L. on the exergue of various coins of Carausius as "Milites legionarii;" strengthened as we are in that reading by a number frequently following those letters, as M. L. XXI, *i.e.*, "Milites Legionarii Undevicessimani."

The numbers of various legions are on his coins: as the following, LEG. II. PARTHICA. LEG. II. AVG. LEG. III. SIPC. LEG. IV. FLAVIA. LEG. V. AVG. LEG. VII. CLAVD. LEG. VIII. INVICTA. LEG. X. LEG. XX. LEG. XXI. VLP. LEG. XXII. PRIMIG. Here are the names of eleven legions; two of them, the fifth and eighth, uncertain, as being given only by Stukeley; and as some of the other numbers may have been misread, we can only say with safety that he appears nominally to have kept up a force of from six to eight legions, which he named according as he happened to have with him parties of soldiers belonging to various of them. He also had his body-guards, as the words COHR. PRAET., or "Cohortes Prætoriani", appear on some of his coins. He called all these forces by the old accustomed name of "Britannicus Exercitus" (see Tacitus, *Histories*, i, 9), as the letters B. E appear on some of his coins. Also the letters RO. MI appear on various of his types, implying "Romani milites"; and on others we have M. S. P, or "Milites, senatus, populusque."

Thus much of his army. In regard to his political

government, s . P, *i.e.*, "Senatus, populusque", often occupies the place in the field of the before accustomed s . c, or "Senatus consultu". Sometimes we have in the same place, A . s, *i.e.*, "Assensu senatus". Sometimes in the exergue, R . s . R, letters of doubtful explication, applying to the senate: possibly "Romani senatus rogatu". c. also appears alone sometimes on the exergue, and is unexplained.

According, then, to his coins, Carausius governed Britain by his senate and by his army. He appears to have given his orders to his mint master to introduce them both by turns on his moneys.

Allectus, in contrast to his predecessor, has but little reference to his army on his coins, having only rarely M . L, *i.e.* "Milites legionarii". Likewise he has but little reference to his senate, having only, in a somewhat rare instance, s . P . c, misread, probably, for s . P . q, or "Senatus, populusque."

The nationality of native Britain, we need not say, is nowhere distinctly asserted on these numerous coins. The Roman senate, or rather Romano-British, the Roman legions, and Roman forms, seem all supposed: the island, in fact, still to continue Roman—not under the former emperors, but under its own emperor, who professed himself perfectly identified, in the various circumstances of his situation, with his imperial brethren in other parts of the empire.

It only remains to add, we have not referred to specific coins in the usual way, stating the collection, etc., etc.; because, since the publication of Mr. Akerman's *Coins of the Romans relating to Britain*, and also of the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, such reference is not now so necessary as it would have been formerly; or, indeed, as it is at the present time in regard to other numismatic topics.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE ATTACOTTI OF BRITAIN, THE "BELLICOSA HOMINUM
NATIO" OF AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS.

AN Italian author named Blondus, who lived in the fifteenth century, and wrote a work entitled *Roma Illustrata*, who also is believed to have had authorities not now extant, positively asserts that Honorius had a body of Picts in his pay, incorporated into his army, called the "Attacotti Honoriani". (See Pinkerton's *Inquiry into the History of Scotland*, 8vo., 1789, i, p. 216.) This is apparently only a conjecture of Blondus, from the *Notitia Imperii*, in which we find introduced, the "Attacotti Honoriani", the "Attacotti Honoriani Seniores", and the "Attacotti Honoriani Juniores."

Among the variety of ideas entertained concerning the origin of this people, Meuller, a German writer, supposes that they were the Atuatuca, or Aduatuca, of Gallia Belgica, or part of them, who may have left the Rhine, and passed into Britain. (See Boeching's *Notitia Imperii*, 8vo., 1839, p. 227.) Pancirolus had said, in support of their being of German origin, that they derived their appellation from a city in that country; from what precise one, however, he does not inform us. There is none nearer in name than Atuatuca, in the country of the Tungri.

Whether the Romans may have regarded the Attacotti as the "Britanni feroces" of our island, in the same vein as they styled certain of the inhabitants of Africa enrolled among their troops, the "Mauri feroces" (see the *Notitia Imperii Occidentis*, c. vi), we cannot say: possibly they might. But the Attacotti are somewhat unfortunate in having a charge of cannibalism launched forth against them by no less a person than St. Jerome, the father of the church. That writer gives some rather revolting details on the subject in his *Treatise against Jovinian*, and distinctly says that, in his youth, in Gaul (Gallia Belgica), he himself saw some of the Attacotti, a nation of Britain,

eating human flesh; and describes how he understood they would mangle living human bodies in pursuit of their horrid propensity. This last practice he does not say he had seen himself; and the question is, how are his assertions to be explained, since we cannot doubt his veracity, and it seems too improbable that they can be true?

In the first place, then, we find no confirmation of his words in any other ancient author. It is true several charges of cannibalism are made in the *Triads* (Nos. 45 and 46); but they are quite of a different nature, relate only to individuals, do not refer to the Attacotti, and might possibly have originated from national hostile feelings. But here is a charge deliberately made by a father of the Church, whose sentiments should have only been those of Christian charity. It is true that there was at that time a great animosity on the Continent against Britain, on account of the Pelagian heresy; and St. Jerome denounced the abettors of Pelagius in his *Prologue to his First Book on Jeremiah*; and Pelagius himself in his *Prologue to his Third Book*. This animosity continued much beyond St. Jerome's time; so that it might have been pleasing to many to bring an aggravated charge against Britain; to say that in the native country of Pelagius the heretic, they ate human flesh. But the paragraph, from peculiarity of style, bears not the slightest trace of having been interpolated by a copyist. We may therefore come to what is, in all probability, the real *éclaircissement* of the matter, namely, that St. Jerome, a youth in Gaul, was imposed upon in regard to this asserted fact, and that there was no cannibalism at all: but that it was some jocular transaction on the part of those who deceived him; and that the really savage soldiers of the Attacottian race whom he met with in Gaul might have been practising some bravado to make themselves appear more fierce and formidable.

It appears to be allowed very generally that all research has failed to connect, by demonstrative proof, the Attacotti with any particular state of ancient Britain; and the information or conjecture of Blondus, that they were the Picts, a race comprising several states, appears most likely to be correct. Thereto agrees the description of them in Ammianus, that they were "*Bellicosa hominum natio*",

i.e. a warlike nation of men ; and that they harassed Britain “*ærumnis continuis*”, that is, with continual annoyances, in the fourth century. This is all suitable to the Picts. Besides Ammianus and St. Jerome, there is mention of them in the *Notitia Imperii*, according to which they appear to have furnished various cohorts to both the Eastern and Western empires. Gibbon, in his *History of England*, c. xxv, deceived by the apocryphal writer, Richard of Cirencester, was led to place them as a tribe near Glasgow.

CHAPTER XIV.

DETAILS, FROM VARIOUS SOURCES, RELATING TO THE CAREER OF AURELIUS AMBROSIOUS.

As this British chief was the subject of the historical piece of Gildas, entitled *Victorius Aurelii Ambrosii*, so there are still certain particulars extant respecting him which have evidently been derived from that source. It is true the work is now lost ; but it was extant in the twelfth century ; and Geoffrey of Monmouth, as he tells us, had a copy of it, so had the author of Tysilio's *Chronicle* ; so had apparently Hector Boethius, and many other chronicle writers. We may, therefore, note the following additions to the usual accounts respecting this ancient British king ; first, those which are to be met with in various chronicles which have ostensibly the *Victoria* for their immediate or remote source, and, secondly, those from other quarters.

For the first of these, Sigebert, in his *Chronicle*, as quoted by Usher in his *Primordia*, p. 239, says that he reigned forty-five years from the coming of the Saxons, which, allowing for a ten years absence, would bring the close of his reign to the period which seems best assigned, namely, to the year 504. Hector Boethius, in his *History of Scotland*, describes his restoration of religion in the land ; his breaking the statues of the heathen gods, and

ordering a general supplication at London. This does not stand precisely so in Tysilio's *Chronicle*, and is apparently there taken from a different source. Polydore Vergil, and a German chronicler, Huldreich Mutius, in their narratives record that he perished at Salisbury plain, as does Paulus Diaconus, according to Speed's *History of England*, p. 315; but in what edition of his works this is recorded does not appear.

The following are from other sources. His truce with Vortigern took place, as near as can be ascertained, in the year 469. See the *Britannic Researches*, p. 57, after which he was on the Continent for a succession of years, for he only lands finally in Britain in the year 481. During his absence, the *Chronicles* inform us, he acquired great experience in the art of war; and, like Vortimer before him, and Arthur after him, he engaged in the quarrels which took place between the Celts and their neighbours in Gaul. In some of these frays, it seems, he was taken prisoner by no less a person than Odoacer, the chief of the Heruli, and the terminator of the Roman empire in the year 476 or 479. Thus it is described in the life of St. Severinus, by Eugypius, who was a missionary in Belgium in those times: "Odobogar rex sancto Severino familiares literas dirigens si qua speranda duceret dabat suppliciter optionem: memor illius presagii quo eum expresserat quondam regnaturum. Tantis itaque sanctus alloquiis invitatus Ambrosium quendam exulantem rogat absolvi, cujus Odo bogar gratulabundus paruit imperatis." Now a Saint Ser- vinus had been in Britain (see *Nennius*, c. lvii), and was probably this identical person. He might therefore have taken an interest in interceding for a British prince, and obtaining his liberation. In English the passage is thus: "Odoacer, the king, wrote by letter to Saint Severinus, that, if he entertained any hopes (of effecting conversion), he might use his endeavours; for he recollected a prediction of his, of former times, that he should come to the throne. The saint therefore, encouraged by this, solicited the liberty of a certain exile named Ambrosius, which request was readily granted." (See Usher's *Primordia*, p. 240.) Baronius, in his *Annals*, at the year 477, pronounces this person to have been the British Ambrosius; and says that there are many reasons for thinking so.

We now come to a passage in the *Metrical Chronicle* of Gottefrid of Viterbo, in which our Ambrosius is mentioned, which represents him in a very different light from what Gildas, Tysilio, or any other author has described him before. The lines are thus :

Aurelius primogenitus regnique monarchus
 Sic pacis sancita facit, sic prospicit actus
 Ut reparet patriæ gaudia lata quies.
 Confovet optima, dissipat horrida, regia norma,
 Prælia deprimit, abdita rejicit, apta reformat.
 Rex erat, imo pater, gesta paterna patent.
 Attamen admissâ patris feritate patrizat,
 Nam prius inflixa renovat tormenta remissa,
 Et tenet erroris dogmata plena dolis.
 Æmulus ipse Dei populi fit tutor Hebræi;
 Atria (qu. Arria ?) scripta vehit sectamque fovet Manichæi;
 Catholicique rei prorsus habentur ei.
 Post annos paucos, post multa pericula rerum
 Suscipit Aurelius fatum, finemque dierum
 Justus apud procures, sed reus ante Deum.

In English this will be: "Aurelius, the eldest born, and the monarch of the kingdom, so reestablishes peace, and acts with so much forethought, that tranquillity far and wide restores the happiness of the country. His principle of government was to cherish what was most estimable; to dispel barbarisms (*i.e.*, to promote civilization); to discountenance battles (*i.e.*, civil wars among the islanders); to do away with chicanery; and to make all due and suitable reformatations. He was a king,—nay more, a father, as his fatherly acts towards his country testify. Nevertheless he inherited much of his father's ferocity; for he, in a manner, renews the former persecutions, and held doctrines full of deceit. An opposer of God, he becomes protector of the Hebrew people; he carries about with him Arian manuals of devotion (*Aria scripta*), and encourages the sect of the Manichæans; and he only views the orthodox party of the Latin Church as delinquents. A few years after (this), and after many perilous emergencies, Aurelius meets his fate and the end of his days,—just in the eyes of the British chieftains, but guilty before God."

Such is this extraordinary passage, which Gottefrid has evidently taken from some early mediæval source, either not now extant, or not easily accessible. The writer was warmly in the interest of the Latin communion of that

day, as is evident; and the wonder is, that Gildas, who seems also to have been as warm,—as warm as possibly could be, in the cause of the same communion, should applaud this very man, celebrate him in his *Victoria Aurelii Ambrosii* as the restorer of churches and reestablisher of Christianity; which strain is again taken up by Tysilio in his *Chronicle*, who was evidently an advocate of a very similar description.

It appears by other parts of Gottefrid's *Chronicle*, that he represents the father of Ambrosius, not as Constantine of Armorica, Constantine the Blessed, as he is frequently styled, but as Maximian himself, the bloody persecutor of the church (see the reason explained in c. xix); which may account for the allusion made to his parentage.

The censure is, without doubt, overcharged, and Gildas may have had chiefly regard to the great good Aurelius did in putting down paganism and reestablishing the Christian Church; whilst he might think it right to overlook various errors, though he did not approve them. It can only have been thus; and we know nothing more on the subject, or rather can surmise nothing more. It happens, however, rather singularly, that, obscure as the history of those times undoubtedly is, there are some collateral data which bear on the points which are alleged in the above verses against Aurelius.

It is intimated that he was an Arian, and that his father had been so before him: so there was probably some strong focus of Arianism at that time in Gaul, particularly in the eastern parts of it, as we find recorded in history that all the Gothic tribes conquering and occupying provinces in Gaul invariably became Arians as they imbibed Christianity. Constantine, and Aurelius his son, were both much connected with Gaul. The first was born there; whilst Aurelius spent many years of his life there. However, for another point. Aurelius, in opposition to the divine will, as the writer supposes, protects the Jews. Now the Jews appear to have been settled, in those days, on the northern borders of the Otodini, where Bede, in his *History*, i, 12, speaks of a town named Guidi; which many suppose to be Camelon, though there may be some doubt as to the actual locality. The same place seems to be called by Nennius, in his *Saxon Genealogies*, Iudeu and

Atbret Iudeu ; which last term is unmistakable ; implying the town of the Redemption of the Jews. We, then, can only suppose that, as the British sovereigns of this date took much interest in the Strathclyde kingdom, that Ambrosius had here patronized these scions of the Jewish stock, so far removed in their wanderings from their own country.

In the like manner, the favouring the Manichæans would be explained by the great Mythraic population, which, from their caves and temples discovered, there appears to have been in the neighbourhood of the Roman Wall. (See the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, p. cix, and the works of Hodgson, Bruce, Wellbeloved, and others.) There were also worshippers of the Egyptian Apis in this quarter. (See Wellbeloved's *Eburacum*, and other works.) According to the tenor of history, Mythraic worshippers may be believed to be inclined to adopt the tenets of Manichæanism on conversion to Christianity. This is obvious. The same may have been the case with the worshippers of Apis: the seat of Manichæanism having been chiefly in the East ; as Persia, Egypt, etc. It follows that some favour or privilege granted to these persons may have occasioned the attack on Ambrosius.

One thing must not be overlooked in these verses: they clearly inform us of the violent end which Ambrosius met with,—his “*fatum*”, or fate, as it is called. The Fates, particularly among northern nations, were supposed to preside over battles ; and it would be rare, perhaps impossible, to find an instance in an ancient author of a person poisoned being said to meet his fate. The verses then concur in the idea that he fell in an engagement on Salisbury Plain, and that he was not the victim of an envenomed dose, as asserted in the *Chronicle* of Tysilio.

CHAPTER XV.

REMARKS TO ILLUSTRATE THE NATURE AND SCOPE
OF CELTIC TITULAR NAMES.

WE have examined the subject of titular names at pp. 198-202, 219-225, and 269-270, in the *Coins of Cunobeline*; and at pp. 294-302 of the *Britannic Researches*; and at pp. 21-24, and 41-48, of the *Miscellanea Britannica*. We will now make some few observations on the following series of them, a part of which have been before mentioned, and a part not; it being intended to give a brief summary of those which are most obviously known at one view, and which may not have been so particularly noticed before. They will be thus:

CLASS I. Those in composition only. 1. An, aun, aint, or on; 2, Ac, ax, or ach; 3, Por; 4, Modur; 5, Illil; 6, Cuno; 7, Rhain; and 8, Emyr.

CLASS II. Those in composition or separate. 9, Rex, rix, or vraig; 10, Tascio; 11, Commios; 12, Tigerne; 13, Gwayr.

CLASS III. Those which are separate only, that is, not in composition. 14, Pendragon; 15, Vercobretus; 16, Gildas; 17, Coil (Coes-illil).

CLASS IV. Female titular names. 18, Gwenhwyvar, or Guenhumara; 19, Gwenhwyvach; 20, Aregwedd.

CLASS V. Name of territory only. 21, Guurth.

We may commence our observations by remarking of the above official and titular distinctions, that many of them are not strictly Celtic, but appear to have been introduced by the Belgic Gauls, and are of Teutonic origin. We will consider them all one by one.

1. An, aun, aint, or on, is Teutonic, and the same as the modern German amt, an office or duty. It is found combined with very numerous Celtic titular names, Meiri-aun, Cynan, Geraint, Tasciovan, Farin (Vawr-an), Caredigion, etc., etc., and implies indifferently the office or government itself, or the person holding it; as if we should

express governor and government by the same word. It is observable that, in the College of Arms, some few of the officers are known by the names of their titles, as Rouge Croix, etc. Shakespeare gives us two instances: one in his *Romeo and Juliet*, act iii, sc. 8, where he says the "County Paris", for Count Paris; and the other in his *Anthony and Cleopatra*, act iii, sc. 7. In this last case, Cleopatra is represented as addressed by the name of the country she governed: "Egypt! thou knowest too well," etc., etc., instead of—O Queen of Egypt.

2. Ac, ax, or ach, is again Teutonic, and is the same as the modern German acht, a charge or care, i.e., of a province. It occurs in the name Segonax, mentioned in Cæsar's *Commentaries*, and in various other cases. It is apparently the same as the og in Brycheiniog, and as the wg in Morganwg.

3. Por is apparently also Teutonic, and the same as the modern German furst, a prince. It occurs in the line of kings in *Tysilio*, in the name Pqr-rex, in the name Vortipore, etc. In medieval Welsh it seems to have been in the form of vor, fawr, and vyr: for instance, in the words Dinefawr and Gwrthevyr for Vortipore. The Persians also borrowed this word from the Teutones, in the form pherz, a prince.

4. Modur, is apparently of Celtic origin, and a very ancient appellation, implying ruler, as Dyfnwal Moelmyd, i.e., Moelmodur.

5. Illil, is Celtic in origin, and synonymous with rex or rix in various instances: as in Eppillus, Ambilil for Ambiorix, and Indutillil for Indutiomar.

6. Cuno. Teutonic in origin, and the same as the modern German könig, implies king. It occurs in the name Cunobeline, and in other instances.

We must here caution the reader that cyn, in the sense of pen, head, or chief, must be distinguished from cuno in composition. Thus we have Cynan, Cynren, and the like, which will be found explained in our previous chapter, iv, and which have no reference to the title Cuno.

7. Rhon, rhain, and ren, all which words are variations of the first, and signify spear, were used in composition with cyn, chief, etc., as titles of distinction, in the same way as "Primapilaris" among the Romans. We have

pointed this out sufficiently in chapter iv. The modern name of an illustrious family seems to have had this ancient source, as Cochrane, *i.e.*, "Red spear".

8. Emyr, a Celtic form of the Latin word *imperator*, was much in use in the fifth century, especially in Armorica. We have it in the name Guortemir. It was apparently a substitute for the equivalent Celtic title, Tascio.

9. Rex, Rix, Reics, or Vraigh, a king. Originally Teutonic, but lost in that language as a personality, is only extant in the sense of kingdom in it; as *reich*, which has that meaning. We have instances of it in Cingetorix and various other names.

10. Tascio. A Celtic word, implying military commander, and answering to the Latin *imperator* in that limited sense, but not in the scope of the latter as signifying either the Roman emperor, or any other emperor. We have it as a title of Cunobeline on coins; also in the name Taximagulus, mentioned by Cæsar in his *Commentaries*, and in various other instances. For further information see the *Coins of Cunobeline and of the Ancient Britons*, pp. 198-202, and other places, as also the *Britannic Researches*, *passim*: and the *Miscellanea Britannica*, pp. 21-4 and 41-8.

It should here be stated, in correction of some former remarks on the subject, that the medieval Welsh word Tywysog, which has the signification of prince, or leader, is not to be considered as identical with this title in question, Tascio, though assimilating somewhat in pronunciation. Tywysog was introduced into the Celtic language from the Latin, being derived from the words so much in use among the Romans *duco* and *dux*. It appears to have superseded the more ancient title Tascio about the beginning of the seventh century. The Celts were ever inclined from time to time to change their titular nomenclature.

11. Tigerne. Celtic in origin, and implying king. It occurs in the name Guortigern, *i.e.*, king or ruler of the Guurth, or principality, and in other instances.

12. Commios. See the *Coins of Cunobeline and of the Ancient Britons*, in various places, and also the *Britannic Researches*, in both of which it will appear that some results important to British history are connected with the due interpretation of this word. It implies a nation, state, or community, as also the ruler of such a state or commu-

nity: in fact, the governor or the governed, similar to various Celtic official titles and distinctions.

13. Gwayr. The same as guanar or gwayar, a lord; as Carvilius in Cæsar's *Commentaries*, i.e., Gwayar-illil, the title implying the lord and prince.

14. Pendragon, a title of late introduction, given to those who were elected by public voice the kings of the Britons; as Uther Pendragon and others.

15. Vercobretus, a Celtic term, implying law-giver; in much use among the Ædui in Gaul, according to Cæsar's *Commentaries*, but its occurrence in Britain not ascertained.

16. Gildas, a Celtic term, which etymologically considered and dissected, separates itself into gillian-tascio, literally, "princeps minister", and implies the prince the ecclesiastic. The titular distinction, "Tascio", seems at this period to have somewhat varied from its strict acceptance of military commander, and to have been given to the sons of reigning princes. We have had two celebrated persons of the name in England, Gildas Albanus and Gildas Badonicus, and we are informed by Dr. Charles O'Connor, that the designation occurred frequently indeed in Ireland in early medieval times.

17. Coil (Coes-illil) or the priest king. The name of the father of Lucius, the first Christian king in Britain, according to Tysilio. He was a king who took upon himself the functions of a priest, as we find by the name.

18. Gwenhwyvar, or Gwenhumara, according to Matthew of Westminster. The prefix gwen, given in ancient British chronicles, seems more properly a portion of the word guanar, a noble, according to early orthography, the *a* expressed by the *e*, than to mean gwen, white. We have thus in Tysilio the name Gwendoleu, which we judge should be so interpreted, and that conformably to this Gwenhwyvar or Gwenhumara is to be understood as implying "high or noble lady:" and, as such, a designation of the consorts of those who were elected kings of the Britons. The termination of the word Gwenhumara, seems to express a species of irregular feminine gender; the feminine form of a name, in fact, the same as we have in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History*, Gwendolena for Gwendoleu.

19. Gwenhwyvach, which Medrawd's wife is called in

Triad 49. As the termination expresses a diminutive, it may be regarded as the title of ladies of distinction among the Britons, wives of chieftans and others, whose husbands had not obtained the eminent rank of which we have just spoken.

20. Aregwedd, the name appears to express royalty, and is applied to Cartismandua, who is called "Aregwedd Voeddig." Admitting it to be a royal title, and not solely as belonging to one individual, it may account for some uncertainty who Aregwedd Voeddig was, who is sometimes considered to be Cartismandua, queen of the Brigantes, and supposed the daughter of Cunobeline, and sometimes thought to be Boadicea, wife of the Prasutagus of Tacitus, and queen of the Iceni.

21. Guurth. Celtic in origin, implying a reward, *i.e.*, a military reward or principality given to a general of eminence. A large tract in Herefordshire, immediately north of the Wye, and of the ancient Erging and Ewas, is called the Hundred of Worth; apparently formerly Guurth. We have instances of the occurrence of this word in the names Guortigern and Guortemir, etc. etc.; and in the name of Guurth Berneich, or Bernicia, *i.e.*, the kingdom of Northumberland, which appears to have been originally given to Ohta and Ebissa by Hengist (see *Nennius* and *Tysilio*), and is mentioned in the Saxon Genealogies in *Nennius*.

We have thus added the foregoing remarks on Celtic titular names; having recurred to the subject so often in the publications before referred to, and again in these pages, from considering them most important in illustrating the ancient matters of which we treat. We, in fact, affirm without hesitation, that neither Celtic history, Celtic coins, or Celtic customs, can be understood without knowing the import and signification of these appellations, whether they belong to the military, official, or honorary class, and their conventional meanings.

There is no doubt that tardy justice will, sooner or later, be done to the correctness of the views which have been offered on this department of Celtic research, which we may almost venture to pronounce self-evident; though they certainly have not been hitherto received in some quarters, owing to a perverse spirit of partizanship; nor, perhaps, welcomed so cordially in other quarters as might have been expected.

CHAPTER XVI.

ON THE OCCURRENCE OF THE NAME VITALIS ON VARIOUS
ROMAN-BRITISH INSCRIPTIONS.

THE very extensive diffusion of the name Vitalis is somewhat striking. It is apparently a name of Latin construction, yet is never found in classic authors, nor does it ever appear to have been borne by any Roman whose Latin descent can be shown, but to be rather the designation of persons of the Celtic race. Though of Latin formation, it is, in fact, a Celtic name Latinized; and there is but little doubt that it represents the personal Celtic appellation, Guethelin or Guitolin. There is some considerable approximation in the two names; but, in fact, all hesitation on this score is precluded, as there is no other name universal enough among the Celts to have been the prototype of the so ubiquitous appellation, Vitalis, as this of Guethelin or Guitolin.

The name Vitalis comes first into notice in the beginning of the second century, in an inscription at Malpas of the reign of Trajan (see *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, p. cvi), but occurs very numerously in the third century in lapidary memorials; and we find the mention of it as late as the eleventh century in the appellation of Ordericus Vitalis, the chronicler; after whom it seems subsequently to disappear in the later parts of the Middle Ages.

Having mentioned the topic, we may cite some instances in point; and the following are presented to us by inscriptions.

VITALIS, in the Malpas inscription before referred to; JULIUS VITALIS centurio, *Horsley*, xxxviii; JULIUS VITALIS fabriensis, *Horsley*, i; SIMATIUS VITALIS Ordovix, *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, vol. ii, for 1847, p. 248; VITALIS, *Archæologia Cambrensis*, vol. iv, for 1849, p. 81; VITALIS, *Philosophical Transactions*, xlvii, p. 200; and VALERIUS VITALIS centurio, *Archæologia*, iii, 236.

Independently of the above, we have the occurrence of the name above sixty times in Gruter's *Corpus Inscriptionum*; and the usual absence of it from Latin classic authors being borne in mind, the persons there mentioned may be considered to have been chiefly of Celtic extraction.

Among potters' names on Samian ware found in London, we have the following recorded in Mr. C. Roach Smith's *Collectanea*, vol. i, p. 155:—VITA; OF. VITA; VITALIS FE; VITALIS, M.S.F.; VITALIS M.S. FECIT; VITALIS, P.P. Also the name VITALIS is marked on Roman pottery found at Treves (*Collectanea*, p. 156); likewise VITALIS on pottery at Colchester (*ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 40).

The Roman *Martyrology* contains the name of St. VITALIS, of whom there is a life in the Bodleian Library. The *Biography* also of Gildas, by the Monk of Rhuys (c. 45), mentions an abbot VITALIS in Armorica. There also lived in Armorica, in the Middle Ages, the two writers, VITALIS NEMAUSENSIS and VITALIS BLESENSIS: after whom we may place ORDERICUS VITALIS, the historian before mentioned.

From the name having been formerly so frequent, and afterwards ceasing, it would seem that some modification of it, or variation, ensued in course of time, so that it has become not very recognizable at later periods.

CHAPTER XVII.

ACCOUNT OF VARIOUS MANUSCRIPTS STILL EXTANT, OR LATELY EXTANT, IN PUBLIC LIBRARIES, PROFESSING TO BE WORKS OF RICHARD OF CIRENCESTER.

THE following is a list of works attributed to this writer, as far as can be obtained.

I. HISTORIA AB HENGISTO, in five books, whereof part 1 is called *Speculum Historiale*, and contains four books, and begins: "Post primum Insulæ Britanniae regem;" and part 2, containing one book, is a continuation of the former four, and begins: "Prudentia veterum mos ino-

levit." The whole of the preceding work is in the Cambridge Library, marked Ff. i. 28, and extends from the year 449 to 1348.

This work, it is believed, is the one usually attributed to Richard of Cirencester by Bostonus Buriensis, Pitseus, and Bishop Nicholson; but on examination of the manuscript itself, it is found not to give his name in the form which might be expected; but, on the contrary, there is some considerable variation, since he describes himself, "Ego Matthæus Ricardus Cictre, beati Petri Westminster prope London monachus," etc. Here the writer, whoever he were, would seem to style himself more obviously, Matthew Richard, of Chichester, than of Cirencester; and somewhat to increase the uncertainty, on the other side of the leaf, instead of the heading as above, *i.e.*, M—R—Cictre, is in a much more modern hand "Matthæus Cantuarensis." It is hardly safe to deduce any inference from this, but the circumstance is required to be stated.

Now it is to be noted. First, that it is believed there is no such writer known in the Middle Ages as Matthew of Canterbury; and again, that the name of the town, Cirencester, according to the pronunciation of the present day is Cissester, and so the word may have been pronounced in the Middle Ages: more rarely is it pronounced in modern use, Churnchester. Accordingly the Cictre of the manuscript is not to be understood to mean Chichester in Sussex, but to be an adaptation of the usual colloquial form, Cirencester. Thus it seems to have been universally read in former times by those who have consulted the manuscript, except that Bernard, in his *Catalogue of Manuscripts*, No. 2428. 248, inserts it as Chichester. Here, likewise, observe that Stukeley, in his *Account*, mistakes the reference to the *Speculum Historiale* in Bernard which is as above, and not 2304. 124 as he has it, which is a copy of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History*, with the often cited veto in the concluding paragraph to Henry of Huntingdon and William of Malmesbury, not to write the history of the British kings, because they were not possessed of the volume which Walter, archdeacon of Oxford, had brought over from Britany.

The style of this work, we may add, is extremely barbarous indeed, and if written by the author of the *De Situ*

Britanniæ, a work possessing some good points of composition, must have been written at an earlier period of life, before he formed his style by studying classical models.

The following are two specimens: the first from the beginning of the work, the second from a subsequent part.

“Ego Matthæus Ricardus Cicre beati Petri Westminster prope London monachus quamvis indignus, ad utilitatem legentium et formam complacentem præsens opus compilavi, ea quæ in Cronicis multiplicium studio relatorum exarata perpendere valui veracibusque descriptionibus vidi, digesta in codicem.” That is, “I, Matthew Richard, of Cirencester, monk of St. Peter’s at Westminster, near London, unworthy as I am, have compiled the present work for the use of readers in a form which may be agreeable to them. It is digested into one volume from the narratives of numerous relators, and from their truthful descriptions, which I have examined.” The second extract is:—

“Ad hæc (tempora) alii dictorum Anglorum regum fortunatissimè et industriâ habenas regni moderantes gloriâ floruerunt militari, finesque regni sui contra ceterorum irruptiones fortiter tuentes vicinaque regna suo obdentes imperio, ac triumphalibus adornati victoriis, audaciæ admonstrantesque (orig. amonstransque) exemplum suis populis reliquerunt. Ceterùm vero inter primos Anglorum reges quidem fuerunt de quibus etiam præsens historicus tacere non debet: qui religionem Christianam prorsùs ignorantes vanis gentilium requiebant erroribus, autem in re militari et bellicis congressionibus tam famosi extiterunt.” In English: “In these times others of the said Anglo-Saxon kings flourished in military glory, holding the reins of government with assiduous care and with much good fortune. They defended with bravery the confines of their own kingdoms against the inroads of others; and added neighbouring states to their sway, and, crowned with victories, left an example of boldness to their people. But I, the writer of this history, ought not to omit to mention, that among the earlier Anglo-Saxon kings there were some altogether ignorant of the Christian religion, who continued to acquiesce in the vain errors of the gentiles. These, however, were not behind hand in their knowledge of war, or in their military achievements.”

The reader will thus see by these specimens, that the Latin style has not the usual fluency of medieval writings, but seems the composition of a person somewhat imperfectly acquainted with Latin endeavouring to express himself in that language.

The work that follows appears to be either indentical with the foregoing as far as it extends, or an abbreviation of it.

II. ABBREVIATIO RICARDI CICESTRII monachi Westmonast(eriensis); vel *Anglo-Saxonum Chronicon*. This is in Benet College Library, see Nasmith's *Catalogue*, 4to., 1777, 427. 3. It begins in 449 and goes down to 1265, is called in *Bernard's Catalogue*, *Epitome Chroniconum*, and marked there 1343. 66. 2. Dr. Stanley, in his *Catalogue*, calls it by the same title as the former work, *Speculum Historiale*. —An alleged work of Richard of Cirencester in Lambeth Library seems only a short extract from this; comprising, indeed, only part of one page, though, from the mention of it in Stukeley's *Account*, p. 10, it might be thought of more considerable import. A reference to it may be found in Maitland's *Catalogue of Lambeth Manuscripts*, fol. 1812, p. 82, No. 585, p. 59, where it is described, *Excerpta ex Speculo Historiali Ricardi de Cirencestria*. The volume at Lambeth in which it is contained seems, in a great measure, to be composed of extracts from manuscripts in Benet College Library.

III. BRITONUM ANGLORUM ET SAXONUM HISTORIA, which is among the Arundel Manuscripts of the Library of the Royal Society. See Stukeley's *Account*, p. 10. It is continued down to the reign of Henry III.

IV. A work bought by Dr. Richard Rawlinson at Sir Joseph Jekyl's sale, and taken to Oxford. Stukeley's *Account*, p. 10.

V. A theological treatise, entitled DE SYMBOLO MAJORE ET MINORE, mentioned in a manuscript note to St. Jerome's *Epistle to Eugenius*, in Benet College Library, but of which the place of preservation is not known. Stukeley's *Account*, p. 10.

VI. Another theological treatise, intituled DE OFFICIIS ECCLESIASTICIS, in seven books, is or was in the Library of Peterborough Cathedral, and was there marked T. iv. It begins, "Officium ut," as mentioned by William

Wydeford and Richard Wyche. See Stukeley's *Account*, p. 11.

In respect to this alleged work : on inquiry being made at Peterborough, December 8th, 1854, neither the chapter clerk, Mr. Gates, nor the librarian, Mr. Cattel, had any knowledge of the manuscript. The cathedral library at present only contains printed books, and no manuscripts are said to remain in the chapter-house, except an ancient register of Swaffham. The two writers, William Wydeford and Richard Wyche, cited by Stukeley, were apparently much anterior to him ; so that it possibly might not have been in the library even in his time. Bernard, in his *Catalogue of Manuscripts*, mentions no collection of manuscripts at Peterborough cathedral.

VII. His *DE SITU BRITANNIÆ*, if genuine, may be regarded as the last of his works : however, very much suspicion hangs over it ; and for an examination of the question of its authenticity or non-authenticity, the *Britannic Researches*, pp. 114-141, may be consulted.

To recapitulate. Only the places of preservation of three works written by Richard of Cirencester are known ; namely, of his *Historia ab Hengisto*, his *Abbreviatio*, and the *Work* in the Library of the Royal Society, which is apparently merely a copy of one of the two foregoing.

CHAPTER XVIII.

PONTICUS VIRUNNIUS, THE WRITER OF THE ERA OF LUDOVICUS SFORTIA, DUKE OF MILAN, AND POLYDORE VERGIL.

THIS person, to whom some considerable reference will be found in our previous chapter ii, was sometimes called, as it seems, Virumnus. In the preface to Commeline's *Rerum Britannicarum Scriptores*, there is given this account

of him; that he was a native of Treviso, and lived in the time of Ludovicus Sfortia, who usurped the dukedom of Milan in the year 1476, was deposed in 1499, and died ten years afterwards. (See Robertson's *History of Charles V*, 8vo., 1772, vol. i, pp. 170, 171, and other authorities.) As to his literary works, he wrote *Commentaries* on Virgil, on the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid, the *Achilleiad* of Statius, and on Claudian, etc. He abbreviated (subjoining at the same time many additions) the twelve books of Geoffrey of Monmouth for the family of Badaer, who were of distinction among the Veneti (Venetians), and had originally come from Britain: in which abbreviation he left out some of the most marvellous parts of the author he reproduced. He died in the year 1490. His first edition, it seems, was printed in the year 1534, in 8vo., at Augusta Vindelicorum, or Augsburg. Polydore Vergil, in his preface to the *De Excidio Britanniae*, unceremoniously accuses him of forging the name of Gildas to his abbreviation, *i.e.*, taxes him with representing it as if it were the lost history of Gildas. His words are: "Vel eâ de causâ ut fraus diluceret nebulonis pessimi, qui paucis ante annis ex eujusdam Gaufredi breviarum composuerat, illudque Gildæ Sapientis falsò compendium scripserat." That is in English: "And to make evident the fraud of a most vile knave, who, a few years since, drew up a short summary from Geoffrey of Monmouth, and called it 'The Compendium of Gildas the Wise.'" (See *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, p. 1.) Nothing of this kind, however, appears in the edition of the *Historia* of Ponticus Virunnus by Powel, in 1585, or in that of Commeline in 1587; nor could it apply to the first printed edition, that of Augsburg, in 1534, which was nine years subsequent to Polydore Vergil's edition of the *De Excidio*, in 1525, in the preface of which the said remark is made.

A very ready answer is supplied to the apparent calumny of Polydore Vergil,—a man noted for partizanship, and therefore to be distrusted. The calumnious remark could only have originated from some observation made by Ponticus Virunnus relating to his *Abridgment of Geoffrey of Monmouth*, and relating to the *History* of Gildas Albanus, now lost, with which it would appear that Virunnus was well acquainted; and which observation, whatever it were—

for we have no faith in the version Polydore gives about "The Compendium of Gildas the Wise"—not being understood by Polydore Vergil, who wrote thirty-five years after his death—we judge must have occasioned the attack in question.

Shall we say then that the reputation and fair fame of Ponticus Virunnius, the elegant commentator on the classics, is detrimented by the disparaging remarks of Polydore? By no means. The case is about the same as if a person at the present time should assign some preposterous opinion or assertion, whether supposed to be written or oral, to Sir Walter Scott, William Hayley, Peter Roberts, or to any other writer who has been dead about thirty-five years, no trace of which appears in their printed works; and, on the strength of the same, bestow the epithet of "most vile knave" and other recriminations. Haste and want of due discretion would, in this case, be more readily suspected rather than the imputation would be credited; nor is the charge, as regards Virunnius, not appearing to be very probable, in reality worthy of notice.

CHAPTER XIX.

EXTRACTS FROM AN EARLY TEUTONIC CHRONICLE GIVING
AN UNIQUE ACCOUNT OF ANCIENT BRITAIN.

THIS chronicle is the metrical chronicle of Gottofrid of Viterbo, who, by birth, was a native of Silesia, as he informs us in his *Annales Silesiæ*, p. 2, and afterwards was bishop of Viterbo, a city forty miles north-west of Rome. He is to be distinguished from Annius of Viterbo, who has a bad reputation for literary forgeries. His chronicle, like various others which were written in the Middle Ages, comprehended many nations of the world; and he tells us

in his proemium to his work (p. 2), that he versified much of his chronicles of different countries to meet the taste of those who might like best to read a narrative in that form. He appears not to have been sparing of space and length ; and usually gives, first, his annals and recitals in prose, and then adds the repetition of the same in Latin metre. Sometimes he gives Latin prose only ; and, in the case of Britain, unluckily, versifications only. We say unluckily, for on occurrence of ambiguity we might look for the one to explain the other. In the present instance, the original of these his metrical annals, seems to have been, for the prior part of them, some ancient German chronicle not now extant ; or rather, not now discoverable out of Germany : but in his latter part he has evidently borrowed a good deal from Geoffrey of Monmouth. It is very singular that some strange mistakes in our island's primeval history, for which commentators are at a loss to account in Nennius, will be here found repeated ; and as these annals are by no means taken from Nennius, they must have existed in some common and very ancient source. To the above introductory remarks, we may add that this chronicle is contained in about three hundred and fourteen Latin verses : every two of them being hexameters, and the third a pentameter. It is divided into chapters, each of which has a heading. The history of the island is very much confused in the two first chapters, and its chronology violated. We now proceed with our extracts from the work, giving the whole of the four first chapters, afterwards giving the arguments chiefly of the chapters up to the eighth ; after which the historical interest much ceases, and the whole narrative goes into an obscure myth, as we shall note at the proper place. There is a copy of the *Chronica Mundi* of Gottofrid of Viterbo (fol., Basil., 1559), in the British Museum, marked 580¹/₁ ; the part relating to this country being at pp. 606-617.

DE ANGLIS (BRITANNIS) ET SAXONIBUS.

CAPUT I.

DE NONNULLIS ECCLESIE PERSECUTORIBUS.

Chronica quæ perhibent regnasse Diocletianum,
Cùm regnasset, sibi referunt tum Maximianum,
Climata Britannie quem tenuisse canunt.

*Fecerat hunc apud has regiones Roma patronum,
 Quem perhibent sat pacifice tenuisse colonum;
 Hunc patriæ dominum semper habere volunt.
 Attamen in sanctos exarserat ille furore.
 Undique Christicolæ deleverat a regione
 Omnia Catholica scripta cremare volens.*

Translation: "The chronicles which speak of the reign of Diocletian say that Maximian reigned after him, and held Britain. Rome had appointed him governor in these parts, and he ruled pacifically enough the nations, who would have liked indeed very well to have had such a ruler always; but he raged against the saints with fury, and cut off the worshippers of Christ from the land, and endeavoured to burn all the books of the true faith."

To make the errors in these verses apparent, we have noted here some chronological dates, part of which will illustrate also subsequent portions of the chronicle.

282-304	...	reign of Diocletian (Jovius).
286-310	—	M. Aur. Val. Maximian (Herculius).
305-311	—	Galerius Val. Maximian.
306-337	—	Constantine the Great.
340-350	—	Constans or Constantius the Great (see p. 306), his son.
383-388	—	Clemens Magnus Maximus.
403-411	—	Constantine the Tyrant.
408-411	—	Constans his son, his Cæsar.
435-448	—	Constantine of Armorica.
448	—	Constans his son.
448-54 & 468-81	—	Vortigern.
454-468	—	Vortimer his son.
456-487	—	Hengist.
481-504	—	Aurelius Ambrosius.
504-517	—	Uther Pendragon.

The foregoing table shows us more clearly the mistakes made, than how they were made. The case might be this. Uther and Ambrosius were supposed the sons of the Tyrant Constantine, instead of Constantine of Armorica. That Tyrant was confused with Maximus by the chronicler, who apparently did not know that there had been two usurpers under circumstances so extremely similar. Again, the same Maximus was confused with Galerius Maximian,

Diocletian's successor. But there is another circumstance which may have proved deceptive. The usurper Maximus was of the Armorican family (see *Britannic Researches*, p. 245), and from him the name may have been retained as an agnomen afterwards. Our Constantine and all his family may have had the appellation of Maximus, or Maximianus; and we are of opinion that they had. However this may be, the chronicler, in the result, is thrown out about a hundred and seventy years in matter of chronology. In the same way Maximian is mistaken for Maximus in *Nennius* (compare cc. xxii-xxiii), and Constantine of Armorica for Constantine the Tyrant (see his c. xxv). Nennius, however, is not without some show of corroboration in connecting the name with Britain; for Maximian (Herculus) is known to have been in Gaul in the years 307 and 308, after his reaccession to the throne; and during that period might possibly have passed over to this island. Mr. Gunn, in his edition of *Nennius*, p. 143,—who, however, mistakes him for Galerius,—refers to an inscription relative to that point. Gunn likewise quotes Laurentius (*Numismata*, i, p. 81) for the usurper being called both Maximus and Maximianus.

We have only to notice further in this chapter the unusual occurrence of the word "*patriæ*" for tribes or insular states, here, as also in verse 983 of the *Vita Merlini* of Geoffrey of Monmouth. In the next chapter, Constans, the son of Constantine of Armorica, so noted in Vortigern's history, is made the brother of the said Maximian.

CAPUT II.

DE MAXIMIANI PROLE.

Maximianus obit scelerum acerosus amator,
 Deserit et geminos propriâ de conjuge natos,
 Uther et Aurelius nomen habere datos.
 Mater habens pueros procul a regione recedit,
 Pars ubi Britannîe sibi clam reverenter obedit,
 Conscia quod pueris terra paterna redit.
 Hostibus amotis tali moderamine totis,
 Securi rivunt pueri procul inde remoti.
 Sed nova sors oritur pernicioosa locis,
 Defuncti regis fratrem facit insula regem
 Nomine Constantem monachum qui canone degens
 Tempore post modico Britona regna regit.

(*Translation.*) Maximian dies, the lover of wickedness,

who deserted his two twin sons, born of his own wife, whose names were Uther and Aurelius. The mother, with the boys, left the country, and went to where a part of Britain yielded her tacitly obedience, conscious that when all their enemies were removed they would repossess the land. The boys live secure, far removed thence. But a new feature soon arises in those parts. The island makes the brother of the deceased monarch king, who was a monk named Constans, living in canonical rule; and he soon afterwards takes possession of the kingdom of Britain.

CAPUT III.

DE VOLTIGERNO ANGLORUM (BRITANNORUM) DUCE.

Voltigernus Dux Anglorum summus habetur.

Carus apud proceres totâ regione tenetur,

Cujus ob auxilium regna tenet monachus.

Ille docet quod multa vocet rex arma virorum,

Ut valeat punire malos quoscunque suorum,

Et sibi subjiciens stringat ubique solum.

Carta vocat quos merce locat per regna quirites.

Utque solet commota movet Britannia lites

Bella movent gentes in regione sitas.

(*Translation.*) Voltigern was the chief British general, and in favour with the whole kingdom: by whose assistance the monk retains his sway. He instructs the young king that multitudes should be brought together in arms, that he may be better able to punish evil doers, and confirm his own rule. The order is issued; citizens are hired as soldiers through the realm; all Britain is in commotion; and the islanders in the (remoter) regions (*i.e.* Picts and Scots) take up arms.

CAPUT IV.

Saxo vocatus ad hæc ad regia bella monetur

Cujus et innumere populorum turba movetur.

Arma per Oceanum militiamque ferunt,

Miratur jam rex cur copia tanta veniret

Saxo refert: quia tota domi requirit,

Terra foret modica milite plena loca,

Plena viris terra jam pane carebat et herbâ.

Hæc tua nos terra cum sit ditissima servet;

Tu tibi belligeros nos retineto viros.

Turba sumus quam pellit terra sortita parentum

Sorte pari remanere lari vult turba potentum.

Nos quoque sors misit regna tenere tibi.

(*Translation.*) "The Saxons are summoned to the king's wars, and vast multitudes of them begin to move. They transport their soldiery across the ocean; and the king (Constans) is surprised that such a number came. The Saxon replies, that he would require the whole of them; and besides, that their land was small, and filled throughout with soldiers: in fact, so replete with population that they were short of both corn and pasture. "This, your plenteous land," they say, "will sustain us; and suffer us to be warriors in your service. We are the supernumeraries whom our paternal land, already fully portioned out, throws off. Our nobles wish to remain with their possessions undiminished, and will not give us room; and thus fortune sends us to enable you to retain your dominions."

CAPUT V.

SAXONES A VOLTIGERNO DUCE HUMANITER RECEPTI.

(Contains the advice of Voltigern to Constans to receive the Saxons, which is accordingly done; and they are allowed to make fortified camps. The death of Constans is narrated; and the dissatisfaction of Volgimer the son of Voltigern, the head of the anti-Saxon party.)

CAPUT VI.

DE ORSONE ET ENGISTO.

(Contains the war between Volgimer and the Saxons under Hengist and Horsa. Voltigern addresses Volgimer to make peace with the Saxons, as in the next chapter.)

CAPUT VII.

SAXONUM COMMENDATIO (*i.e.*, by *Voltigern*).

(Voltigern enlarges on the benefits of the Saxon alliance, and alleges that by it he retained the crown, and should be able, on his death, to transmit it to him (Volgimer). Battles ensue between the brothers Horsa and Hengist, and Volgimer. The two former reseek their homes; and afterwards return to Britain with their sister.)

CAPUT VIII.

DE ANGRIA (SAXONICA) REGINA, ET REGIONE, ET CÆTERIS ACTIS.

(Voltigern endeavours to make peace between the Britons and the Saxons, when, at a conference for that purpose, a

sudden affray occurs, and the Saxons getting the better, the British nobility are slain. Volgimer flees, betaking himself to a wood, and is said to have died soon afterwards of poison. These matters are described thus:

Saxonica gentis rex Voltigernus amator
 Pacis utrinque dator cupit esse reconciliator,
 Et petit ALLOQUIO fella silere dato.
 Bella silent, cum pacta vident, vexilla quiescunt,
 Colloquiis hic inde datis fera corda tepescunt.
 Rex parat iratis fœdera stricta satis.
 Pacis ab hac horâ, dum rex dare pacta laborat
 Rixa scelus renovat, rixantur in ulteriora.
 Miles ad arma volat, pax perit absque morâ.
 Saxonici populi valido stant cuspidè fulti,
 Unde suis cultris hostes perimuntur inulti.
 Omne decus patriæ Saxonis ense jacet.
 Viribus Anglorum vires superantur eorum,
 Ense Macedo bonum superat perimitque colonum.
 Saxo tulit patriam diripuitque solum.
 Volgimer elatus hostiliter, inde fugatus,
 Visâ morte patrum timet hic incurrere fatum;
 Per medium nemoris labitur atque fugit.
 Tempore post modico fertur periisse veneno,
 Undique per patriam Saxo urget ordine pleno,
 A modo Saxonibus plena trophæa feris.

(*Translation.*) “Voltigern the king, who was fond of the Saxon race, wishes to make peace, and to accommodate matters on both sides. He seeks, in a parley, to allay animosity. The sound of war is hushed, and the banners are no longer unfurled, because they expect peace. Both sides mingling here and there in discourse, dulcify their fierce breasts; whilst the king prepares a treaty, strict enough for both parties. But at this moment, while the king is labouring to complete the compact, an affray takes place, which they carry to extremities. Each soldier flies to arms, and peace vanishes at once. The Saxons stand confidently, relying on their stout blades (concealed underneath their feet); and thus multitudes of the enemy perish by their knives. In sooth, the flower of the British nobility falls beneath their blades. The might of the Britons yields to the might of the Saxons; and the Macedonian (*i.e.*, the Saxon) overcomes, and cuts off with his weapon the honest native. The Saxon takes the country, and wrests away with violence the soil from its possessors. As for Volgimer, at first excited, and in arms, afterwards taking flight when he saw the death of the nobles, and

had become aware of his own imminent danger, he glides through a wood, and so escapes. He is said to have died shortly afterwards, by poison ; and the Saxon marches in every direction, in full array, through the country ; and innumerable are the trophies to the fierce race."

Then follow the interview and treaty of marriage by Voltigern with the Saxon princess. They are married ; and the Saxon dominion is strengthened. The whole kingdom is called "Angriterra", or Angria, for ever : except that afterwards the narrative relates that Pope Gregory changed the R into an L, as if he regarded the people angelical.

Afterwards the king of the Angri (*i.e.* Voltigern) wished to build a castle on the top of a high mountain consecrated to the gods, and began to build. But what was built each day was removed the ensuing night. He therefore consulted magicians, who pronounce that a human sacrifice must be offered ; and a boy be found for that purpose who was born without a father.

Merlin, begotten by a phantasm, is found ; and preparations are made to offer him in sacrifice. But he confronts the magicians, and defies them to say what was underneath the ground, to make the walls fall down. They are unable to declare the cause ; and he proclaims it to be a stream flowing beneath the surface. The earth is opened, and the same is found to be the case. The magicians are committed to prison, and Merlin becomes famous as a great prophet.

Two dragons issue out of the stream, and take refuge in Cornwall. Uther combats and kills one of them, and is called Uther Pendragon. Voltigern, at the solicitation of his queen, again consults Merlin. He declares the two dragons to be Uther and Aurelius, and that they will possess the land. Aurelius obtains sovereign power, and Voltigern loses his kingdom and his head. His queen, nevertheless, continues the war, aided by Hengist and Horsa. Much slaughter ensues, and many buildings are burnt ; but Uther and Aurelius recover their dominions. Peace is made ; and the Saxon queen, submitting to the two kings, returns to her own country, where she could retain her own fortresses (*castra*) in peace. Some verses on Aurelius Ambrosius follow, translated in the previous chapter xiv.

Aurelius primogenitus regnique monarchus,
 Sic pacis sancita facit, sic prospicit actus,
 Ut reparet patriæ gaudia lata quies.
 Confovet optima, dissipat horrida, regia norma :
 Prælia deprimit, abdita rejicit, apta reformat.
 Rex erat, imo pater, gesta paterna patent.
 Attamen admissâ patris feritate patrizat :
 Nam prius infixâ renovat tormenta remissa ;
 Et tenet erroris dogmata plena dolis.
 Æmulus ipse Dei populi fit tutor Hebræi ;
 Atria (qu. Arria ?) scripta vehit sectamque fovet Manichæi ;
 Catholicique rei prorsus habentur ei.
 Post annos paucos, post multa pericula rerum,
 Suscipit Aurelius fatum, finemque dierum ;
 Justus apud proceres, sed reus ante Deum.

The ensuing chapters and the remainder of the poem go into myth, and are taken up with the legend of Uther Pendragon, Merlin, and Igera, at great length, and of but little interest, and end abruptly with the birth of Arthur.

It should, perhaps, be noted, that Angria on the Continent, whence, according to the Chronicle, the Saxons are said to come, is neither Jutland nor Holstein, but a district between the rivers Ems and Weser, forming part of the present Westphalia.

CHAPTER XX.

REMARKS ON SOME ANCIENT ACCOUNTS OF BRITAIN.

THERE is sufficient reason to believe that several ancient histories of Britain were extant as late as the ninth century,—for with this date we will first begin,—written on Roman models, and by no means legendary in their general characters, though doubtlessly exhibiting a strong national bias favourable to Britain. Any one who examines the Irish Nennius may be fully convinced on this head. It is evident that Marcus the bishop, who, in the year 822, drew up a history of the Britons, which has since been

partially adopted by Nennius, and now goes by his name, had an historical narrative before him, which was written in good style, and was not wanting in details. Internal evidence may be appealed to to show this. Marcus, in fact, acted like the clergy of the present day; who, if from any cause they compile in an historical form, for the use of their flocks, never do so from the rough, unhewn materials, but base their compositions on some history of repute already written. Marcus was certainly no exception: however, writing for the Irish, it clearly appears he left out very numerous particulars which applied only to the larger island, as names of persons and places, and other circumstances not likely to be understood or valued in Ireland. Again. Nennius the Briton, when he came to transfer back the account, now sanctioned by a high episcopal name, for the use of his countrymen, had to take the narrative as it was, devoid materially, as it would seem to a Briton, of personal and local names, which would have conveyed associations stirring to his national sentiments, and which he, Nennius, had not the means of supplying. It is not necessary that we should have the actual British *History* of Marcus himself to verify these particulars; which, indeed, it is believed, is lost. We have enough of the *History* of Marcus preserved in Gunn's *Nennius* for our purpose; and portions also of it in the Galic text of the same author, published by the Irish Archæological Society, at Dublin, in 1847.

We have fully explained, in an earlier part of this work, that the *British Historical Triads* show evident marks of having been taken from an ancient history now lost, which was broken up to form them; and we have pointed out sufficiently of what nature and description that history was.

The two instances cited as above, Marcus' *Original*, and that of the *Triads*, are intended to show that the Britons possessed at that era, or might have possessed, histories properly so called. What shall we say to the *Book of Washingborough*, which Gaimar in his *Estorie des Engles* makes so prominent, and which he tells us was one of the sources whence he composed his work. This could not have been the *Hormesta* or *History* of Orosius, as Mr. Wright supposes, *Biographia Literaria*, vol. ii, p. 153, because it is described by Gaimar as not only recording

the Roman emperors who had sway in Britain, but the (native) kings who held under them—

“ Des reis ki d’els ourent tenu ”—

whilst Orosius has no details of the kind. Therefore it must have been an history of Roman Britain which is not now extant; unless a fragment or two be in Gaimar, which is not certain; for an author may use the authority of a work without transferring a single passage.

However as to another relative point. Gaimar, writing in the middle of the twelfth century, appears to quote this book as an authority of antiquity: it therefore might easily have been as old as the ninth century, and perhaps much older. This is the inference, though the point cannot be wholly ascertained: in any case the materials from which it was compiled must be considered of early antiquity.

We have thus some vestiges of three historical works supposed to have been in existence in the early Middle Ages: but if these three existed, many more might have done so, the traces of which are now lost, or are only discoverable with great difficulty. There might have been other works similar to the original of Marcus, to the original of the *Triads*, and to that other ancient composition preserved in bygone times at the Manor of Washborough in Lincolnshire. Those who are inclined to inquire further into this matter may see the former existence of similar historical compositions pointed out in the *Britannic Researches*, pp. 289-293 *et alibi*, and supposed extracts from some in ancient authors, referred to.

It cannot but be observed by readers of the chronicles and medieval writers, that they have frequently information of which we can by no means trace the source; and thus the *Descriptio Utriusque Britanniae*, which there are good grounds for attributing to John de Salisbury, so celebrated in the reign of Henry II (see the *Gentleman's Magazine* for April 1847, p. 381) was compiled from sources unknown to us at present. This was written on occasion of an English princess, Constance, daughter of Henry II, being married to one of the Dukes of Britany, and professed to give an account of Britain and Armorica. It is quoted by early French writers; and they note that among

its contents, it was recorded that the first inhabitants of Nantes were worshippers of the heathen divinity Volianus, concerning whom various conjectures have been raised; but who probably was worshipped as a local deity, and very possibly as the river god of the Loire or Liger, on which the town is situated. Singularly enough an inscription came to light in the sixteenth century, in the year 1530, taken out of the sea, inscribed with the name of this god "Volianus," showing sufficiently that this ancient account was based on classical or other early authorities. It may not be necessary to say more to show that numerous historical documents relating to Britain may have formerly existed, now lost; but we may still add a few words in reference to the causes of these losses.

The taste for legend prevailed all through the Middle Ages; and after the ninth century the passion for romance surpassed all due bounds. Next to legend and romance, theological works were in repute, and next to these books of casuistry, astrology, alchemy, medicine, and what was called school learning, or metaphysical studies. There was no taste whatever for the great part of what is now the range of modern literature, that is, for authentic history, voyages, travels, and archæology. There was scarce a reader for these subjects, and they found no favour from the great patrons of literature, the members of the conventual establishments. The consequences are obvious of this state of things. Works which did not chime in with the taste of the times became rapidly lost. Indeed, if their contents were not prized, the parchment on which they were written was so, to be used over again for other manuscripts. In this way they disappeared, and thus we have lost the *Descriptio Utriusque Britannię*, which there is good evidence, as we have observed, to attribute to John de Salisbury, though *all his other works*, and some of them prolix and tedious enough, have been preserved.

There is a case very much in point, which we may recite, in regard to Bede. This author, among his numerous works, wrote one of a topographical nature, his *De Situ Britannię*. It will show how such productions were received, when we say that this is the least known of all he wrote; only one copy, in manuscript it is believed, being in existence in Benet College Library, Cam-

bridge. It is so little known, indeed, that it is very seldom that we find it mentioned in connexion with him. In short, it has nearly undergone the fate of the *Descriptio Utriusque Britanniae* of John de Salisbury.

Be it remembered, that before the invention of printing, perhaps no more than one or two copies of a work were made; and if no more were produced, how easy for those one or two to become lost to literature. Mere history, devoid of romance, and mere works of research, like the *Descriptio Utriusque Britanniae* and the *De Situ Britanniae* of our ancient church historian, would be exactly literary productions of the class likely to disappear in the Middle Ages.

But when we treat of the ancient literature relating to the island, there is one topic which has been noticed before, and to which we must always recur in guarding this subject from error, namely, that some may say, perhaps, that Gildas asserts in his *De Excidio*, c. 4, that he could find no ancient British accounts. We have before shown, in our chapter ii, the proper explanation of this: that Gildas does not mean to say that he could find no accounts at all, but only that he could not find such accounts as he wanted, namely, such as were in the interest of the Latin church, giving a version of Roman British affairs with a certain bias. In the end he obtains his account from the continent.

We have also, in a former part of the present work, fully accounted for the reason why Bede introduced no details of ancient British affairs before the arrival of the Romans in his *Ecclesiastical History*. In fact, he kept his *Ecclesiastical History* as a separate subject, and began it with the Romans. We may only add here to what has been said before, that in a voluminous work like Bede's, the saving of space which would have been occupied in details of these ancient matters before the arrival of the Romans, had he gone into them, would have been an object. It is easy to imagine his monastic readers would have been dissatisfied if, when wanting to read the annals of their church, they had to wade through an account prefixed, of the pagan races and their doings, odious to them, who had before occupied the island, and who all were of a different origin from the then Saxon possessors.

They would have been dissatisfied also to have this extraneous part to copy in their transcripts. We ought, then, to entertain no surprise. We know sufficiently what Gildas and Bede wanted. They needed not ancient British histories, for each had his own particular purpose in view with which the said histories were not combined.

To conclude these few observations. Ancient British histories, as we may judge, disappeared from the ninth and tenth to the fifteenth centuries, from their not being sufficiently according to the taste of the times. Their fate has been that, when they disappeared, many have been disinclined to admit that they ever existed.

CHAPTER XXI.

MISCELLANEA.

JULIUS FRONTINUS. This person, in some measure, forms a parallel with Julius Cæsar, being, like him, a military commander of eminence and an author. He was pro-prætor, that is, commander-in-chief, in Britain from the year 75 to 78, during which time he is believed to have taken his station principally in Wales: the Romans at that time being more particularly engaged in forming that part of the island into a new province, which they called *Britannia Secunda*. The first forming the fortified station of *Isca Silurum*, the capital of *Cambria* in Roman times, is attributed to him, and also of the *Via Julia*, extending from *St. David's* to *Caerwent*. This is mentioned by name by *Alexander Necham* in the twelfth century; and mile-stones are still remaining upon it. During his stay in Britain he obtained some considerable successes over the *Ordovices*, and was succeeded by the noted *Agricola*. His literary works are: 1. A treatise on military stratagems; 2. Ditto, on aqueducts; and 3. One on land-measuring, usually ascribed to him. An anonymous writer has drawn

up a long memoir of him in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for July 1832, pp. 21-28; and for the Via Julia, see the same work for November 1853, pp. 499 and 508.

FORTS TO THE SOUTH OF THE ROMAN WALL. A remark or two will illustrate a passage in Gildas, c. 14, very commonly supposed to relate to the Roman walled castra in Kent, but in fact applying to some defensible works much more to the north. The writer in the place in question, after speaking of the Roman wall, says that the Romans also constructed for them, that is, for the Britons, "towers on the coast on the south shore where their (that is, the Saxon) ships came, and their attacks were feared." It is obvious that the flotillas of their enemies might come to land immediately to the south of the wall both on the east and west coasts of Britain; and towers built along the coast in that direction to the south of the wall seem all that is meant. This appears more correct than to suppose the writer made any allusion to the walled sea fortresses of the eastern and south-eastern coasts of the island, as Othona, Branodunum, Regulbium, Rutupium, Lemanis, and Anderida.

THE ALLEGED COLONY AND SETTLEMENT OF THE ANCIENT BRITONS IN ARMORICA IN THE FOURTH CENTURY. This is a fact often asserted and as often denied, though believed to be a reality on the whole. For information on this topic, see Usher's *Primordia*, 225-227; Dom Bouquet's *Gaulish Historians*, vol. v, p. 149; vol. vi, p. —; vol. vii, p. 298; and Eginhart's *Annals*, at the year 756; also Ermoldus Nigellus, *De Rebus Ludovici*, iii, lib. 3.

The Merovingian kings affected to call the Armorican sovereigns, counts. Their sway was, however, not less real within the precincts of their dominion, nor their power less regal; though they, of course, as time progressed, became more and more under the influence and ascendancy of their more powerful neighbours, the kings of the Franks.

REMARKS ON A SUPPOSED MENTION OF CONSTANTINE OF ARMORICA IN AN ANCIENT GRANT OF LANDS TO THE CHURCH OF LLANDAFF. We must notice this alleged evidence of the existence of this king; and observe that though we admit that fact, yet it is necessary to say that the correct reading of the grant in question has not been preserved,

which prevents its being of use. This said donation, then, of lands is purported to be from Pepian ap Erb, king of Gwent and Urchenfield, to St. Dubricius, son of his daughter Erdyl, describing the lands as being called "Ma(e)smawr garth penni, usque ad paludem nigram inter sylvam et campum et aquam et jactum Constantini regis soceri sui, trans Gui amnem." That is in English "The said lands as far as the Black Marsh between the wood and the plain and the water, and the 'jactum', possibly tractum, i. e., the tract of land belonging to Constantine the king his father-in-law, on the other side of the river Guy." (See Lewis' *History of Britain*, fol., 1729, p. 158.)

Now the date of Pepian is so far known that his father Brychan is believed to have died in the year 450; and most accounts make Dubricius the son of the said Brychan, and consequently brother of Pepian, but this grant asserts Dubricius to have been the grandson of Pepian. Further the grant speaks of the whole four generations as being at the same time alive, which considering the age which Dubricius must have attained, who is in the last generation, makes the whole nearly impossible.

Having mentioned this ancient monarch, we may take the opportunity to recur to a point we have touched upon before (see chap. xix). Maximian, or its equivalent Maximus, must have been the family name of the royal race of Dumnonia and Armorica, of which our Constantine was an offshoot, having been adopted from Clemens Magnus Maximus of the same line, the distinguished and partially successful, but on the whole unfortunate competitor for the Roman empire. They rejoiced in this name we judge for many generations, being known as the "Familia Maximiana": for as one of this lineage had the high rank of "Præfectus Prætorio", they are to be considered as altogether Romanized in their ways. Our evidence is, that it is quite clear that Gottefrid of Viterbo found in the earlier compilation he used the name written as Maximian. It is quite clear, because he falls into a most ridiculous mistake from that reason, which he otherwise would have avoided. Believing, then, that this was the case that they had this name, the motive would be somewhat obvious why it should be at length changed: for when Ambrosius came to the throne, he, according to

Gildas and the Chronicles, was a warm friend of the church, and could have no affection for the appellation of the deadliest enemy to it that ever existed; and so, as we conclude, adopted instead, as a "*nomen familiæ*", that of Aurelius or Aurelianus.

These are our speculations on this point. As to the name Maximian from Maximus, we have noted in our above cited chapter xix, that his appellation occurs both as Maximus and Maximianus on coins: and not only that, but we may understand that the adjective form "*Maximiana*" would be the due and proper one to designate the family of a person who should be named Maximus. It now then remains for us to consider what have been the obvious results from this error, as far as our ancient British accounts are concerned.

We judge them to have been two principal ones, the prior of which has been already alluded to. (1) That the early Chronicles overlooked the chronological discrepancy of 170 years, and made Constantine of Armorica of the fifth century the same person as Maximian the Roman emperor, the bloody persecutor of the church of the third. (2) That some others more cautious of the medieval writers, as Marcus, Nennius and the ancient translators of the Galic text of Nennius, or their copyists, not being able to unravel the matter, have omitted the mention of Constantine of Armorica, or only alluded to him in a somewhat slight way: supposing apparently that there was some incomprehensible error in the case: and thus the reign of this monarch, which was an important one, and must have been full of incident, has been very imperfectly treated of. Another circumstance likewise tended much to confuse them, that there was a prior Constantine in Britain, Constantine the Tyrant, only about twenty-five years before.

Maximian, a Roman emperor, is mentioned in all the copies of Nennius, as having visited Britain. The said emperor, as has been before remarked, might have done so, as he is known to have been in Gaul after his re-accession to the throne. This point, then, is not necessarily connected with the mistake the early chroniclers have otherwise made about Constantine of Armorica and Maximian.

HENGIST, THE LEADER OF THE FIRST SUCCESSFUL SAXON EXPEDITION TO BRITAIN. Lappenberg, in his *History of*

the Anglo-Saxons, p. 75, raises an argument that Hengist and Horsa had no real existence, but that their story is but a myth. Hengist, however, is mentioned in the *Battle of Finnesham*, a fragment printed in Hickes' *Thesaurus*, p. 192; Conybeare's *Illustrations*, p. 173; and in *Beowulf*, of which the best translation is by Kemble, where his name occurs, p. 77. *Occa's Chronicle*, Vlytarp's and Cornelius's edition, Leeuwarden, 1597, has mention of the Saxon leader, and that he had served under Valentinian III, p. 79.

THE DEMETÆ. These were an ancient British state of the West of England. We may observe here a discrepancy between Ptolemy and Solinus, in regard to them. The first writer places the Demetæ the westernmost, and the Silures next to them on the east; whereas Solinus says that it was twenty miles from the country of the Silures to Hibernia, across the Irish Channel. The Demetæ do not seem to have been the original inhabitants. Their name exhibits some affinity with that of the Maietæ in Scotland, and it is far from impossible that a colony from these last might have arrived in South Wales at some early period, similar to that of Cunedda in the fourth century.

EBORACUM OR YORK. This is usually, and, indeed, invariably called a Colony, in *Inscriptions*. See Wellbeloved's *Eburacum* and other sources: there is, however, one single authority, in the ancient Roman historian Aurelius Victor, in his *History*, iii, 20, for its being termed a municipium. He mentions it thus: "Municipio cui Eboraci nomen;" that is, the municipium called Eboracum. There were certainly on the whole, comparatively to the number of towns, few municipalities and colonies in Britain, but after the general enfranchisement of Caracalla the distinction became of little value.

DEVA, OR CHESTER. This has usually the name of Chester without any adjunct. More rarely it used, in past times, to have one connected with it; for we are told that in Northamptonshire they were accustomed formerly to specify three places as having this name, and to distinguish them thus, viz., Deva, our Chester, as above, or West Chester; Magiovinium, Great Chester; and Irchester, Water Chester. The etymology of this last appears to be

Heer-ceaster, or the Garrison; and this was a station, as we have elsewhere shown.

THE GIRVII. We have the following mention of these people in Bede, whom we judge, from the etymology of their name (Girvii, from the ancient British gwr, *i.e.*, homines: in the Domesday sense of dependents), to have formed a British subdivision of the kingdom.

We will first cite a passage from his *Ecclesiastical History*, iv, 6, applying to the year 674: "Sexwulfus ordinatus episcopus qui erat constructor et abbas monasterii quod dicitur Medeshamstede in regione Gyrviorum." In English: "Sexwulf (in the year 674), being ordained bishop, who was the constructor and abbot of the monastery of Medesham (Peterborough), in the district of the Girvii." Again, lib. iv, 19 (A.D. 660): "Accepit autem rex Ecgfrid conjugem nomine Aedilthryldam filiam Annæ regis Orientalium Anglorum, etc., quam et alter ante illum vir habuerat uxorem, princeps videlicet Australium Gyrviorum vocabulo Tondherst." In English: "The king, in the year 660, took Edilthryd to wife, daughter of Anna, king of the East Angli, etc., who before had been the consort of Tondherst, king of the Southern Girvii." Lib. iii, 20. "Thomas diaconus ejus (A.D. 653) de provinciâ Gyrviorum." In English: "Thomas, his deacon (in the year 653), of the province of the Girvii." We have also the mention of the Girvii in Florence of Worcester, who, in the *Annals* of the year 675, speaks of the Monastery of Burh (Peterborough), in the country of the Girvii.

THE PROPHECIES OF GWINCLAN. The date of the birth of this person is not certain. He appears to have been a contemporary with Taliesin, to whom he was personally known; and that he was a Druid and a Pagan, and had a great hostility to Christianity, is sufficiently understood. It is further stated that his name was Cian, and that his surname or sobriquet, according to some, was Gwinclan, or "pure race;" but according to the best readings in stanza ix of the *Gododin*, it appears to be rather Gwyn-gwn. The Count de la Villemarqué informs us, that his works were lost during the French Revolution of 1789 and following years. A fragment, however, of them remains, somewhat modernized, which Villemarqué gives in his *Poèmes Bretons*, 12mo., Paris, 1846, vol. i, pp. 30-34.

It is valuable as showing the nature of his other prophecies which are lost, and puts it out of doubt that his predictions were the origin of those of Merlin ; as though not having the same imagery, the fragment takes up a somewhat corresponding line of prediction with the *Prophecies of Merlin*, as in the *History* of Geoffrey of Monmouth.

The fragment breathes a spirit of great animosity against the Christian religion and against the Saxons. The style, which has some points of resemblance with that of Lo-warch-Hên, is coarse, though vigorous, and the feelings of the writer are displayed with unmitigated rancour.

According to the epic poem of the *Gododin* (*loco citato*), stanza ix, his son, described as Mab Cian Gwyngwn, was cut off by an ambuscade of the Bernicians whilst conducting a body of troops from Cambria or some part in the South to the campaign of Kaltraeth ; which field of battle, it would thus appear, he never reached. The proceeding by which this catastrophe had been sustained, might have been thought hardly fair by the Britons of those times, under the circumstances in which the war of Gododin is supposed to have commenced : and as the royal family of Bernicia had been the arrangers of the plan of the campaign, Aneurin, in his *Gododin* (*loco citato*), indignantly says, that, did it rest with him, he would adjudge the whole of them, the whole house of Bernicia, to death for such an outrage, by which he lost a friend whose breast was inaccessible to fear, and who fell in resisting a formidable oppressor. We but slightly paraphrase his remarks.

The tenor of the accounts which have come down to us appear to imply that this Cian Gwinclan, or Gwyngwn, whose original home was Cambria, ultimately removed to Armorica, where he wrote his poem, and where he ended his days. This poet, it remains to add, is mentioned by *Nennius*, c. 66 ; also by Taliesin, in his *Angar Cyvyndawd*, as his son is likewise in the *Gorchan Maelderv*.

HISTORICAL SOURCES OF THE BRITISH CHRONICLES. The Chronicle writers evince some proficiency in ancient history in informing us that Bassianus (Caracalla) was the name of the son of Severus ; a circumstance which, on the whole, seems not so generally known, because we are only informed of it by one author, Julius Capitolinus. In another respect they are certainly deficient in correct in-

formation, in making Bassianus and Geta not the sons of the same mother, an error which is, nevertheless, adopted by Spartian. The Chronicles make the mother of Bassianus of British origin, and Spartian gives her name as Marcia, but the mother of Geta, they say, was a Roman. Their great discord, indeed, between themselves favoured the idea that they were not the sons of the same mother ; yet it is most certain that they were : being both the offspring of Julia Domna, the empress of Severus, according to the verses of Oppian, in his *Cynegetica*, who dedicated that work to Caracalla.

*Αὔσονίου Ζηνὸς γλυκερὸν θάλος Ἀντωνίνε
Τὸν μεγάλη μεγάλῳ φητύσατο Δόμνα Σεβήρῳ.*

In English : "Antoninus, the beloved offspring of the Italian Jove, whom the highly exalted Domna bare to the highly exalted Severus."

Sharon Turner, in his *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, appeared to entertain the idea, that the Chronicle of Geoffrey of Monmouth was compiled originally from traditions in Britany, and supposes it to have had no origin whatever in this island. Had he written at a later date, he certainly would have been of a different opinion. But compiling, as he did, before the printing of the *Myvyrian Archaiology* in 1807, or Roberts' publication of *Tysilio's Chronicle* in 1811, it was a very pardonable error in that acute and intelligent historical writer. Besides, Sharon Turner appears to have been apprehensive of shocking the prejudices of his age, and wanted firmness to emancipate himself from received opinions, though, perhaps, he strongly suspected them to be ill founded. Inquirers of our day may now possess a much clearer view of the subject.

✓ MERLIN, THE WIZARD. The existence of this person is without question a reality : that is to say, the existence of Merlin Emmrys, the counsellor of Aurelius Ambrosius, and the skilful architect, admitting that he were the constructor of Stonehenge ; but whether there be any real ground for his being called a wizard seems even now uncertain, and it is not true that he was the author of certain prophecies which pass under his name. All we can say is, that if he were a man of talent and an architect, common fame in that early age may have easily pro-

nounced him a sorcerer. As to the said prophecies current under his name, they have clearly been imitated from those of Gwinclan, who is believed to have retired from Britain and to have passed the latter part of his life in Armorica. But Gwinclan lived about half a century later than this Merlin Emmrys; and as it may be pronounced with confidence that the prophecies in question were not written in the fifth century, when the said Merlin lived, but in the eleventh, the manufacturing of the prophecies must have been accordingly of a much later age. Indeed, they give a sketch of some Norman and Anglo-Norman transactions in Britain and on the continent. But principally, as we should say from his name being forged, and thus surreptitiously connected with these prophecies, legend has invested Merlin Emmrys with the character of a magician, and will have it so. On this basis an early medieval Armorican poem has been constructed, in which Merlin is represented to act as an enchanter; and while exercising his calling is accosted by a saint, Saint Cadoc we may presume by the date, and the supposed dialogue is preserved by M. Villemarqué in his *Poemes Bretons*, 12mo, 1846, vol. i, p. 100. We may transcribe it from his pages as a specimen of Armorican legends, adding, also, the translation to it, taken from that of the learned Frenchman. We should not omit to add to the above, that M. De Villemarqué gives the musical notation of the chant, as it is still sung in Britany; ostensibly the same as the original air.

MARZIN DIVINOUE.

- (*St. Cadoc.*) Marzin, Marzin, pelec'h it-hu
Ken beure-ze, gant, ho ki du?
(*Merlin.*) Iou-iou-ou! iou-iou-ou! iou-ou!
Iou-(iou)-ou! iou-iou-ou! iou-ou!
Bet onn bet kas kaout ann tu,
Da gaout dremen ann ui ru.
Ann ui ru euz ann aer-vorek
War lez ann od, toull ar garrek
Mont a rann da glask d'ar flouren
Ar beler glaz ha'-nn aour-ieoten,
Kouls hag huel-var ann derven
Ekreis ar c'hoad'lez ar feunten.
(*St. Cadoc.*) Marzin! Marzin! distroet endro
Losket ar var gand ann dero
Hag ar beler, gand ar flouren
Kerkouls hag ann aour-ieoten

Kerkouls hagui ann aer-vorek
 Etouez ann eon toull ar garrek.
 Marzin! Marzin! distroet endrou
 Ne deuz divinour nemed Dou.

Translation — “MERLIN THE DIVINER. (St. Cadoc)
 Merlin! Merlin! whither goest thou so early in the morn-
 ing with thy black dog? (Merlin)

Iou-iou-ou! iou-iou-ou! iou-ou!
 Iou-(iou)-ou! iou-iou-ou! iou-ou!

I have just been seeking the red egg, the red egg of the sea snake on the shore in the hollow of the rock. I go to search for the green cresses in the meadow, and the golden plant, and the misletoe on the oak at the border of the fountain. (St. Cadoc) Merlin! Merlin! go back: Leave the misletoe on the oak, and the cresses in the meadow, as also the golden plant: likewise the egg of the sea snake in the foam in the hollow of the rock. Merlin! Merlin! re-measure thy steps. There is no diviner but God!”

It may be observed that we are without any trace of the legend on which this piece of poetry must have been founded. It was apparently written about the eleventh century, and with a perfect knowledge of the Druidical craft. It is also the more curious as showing the Christian Church of the day in contest with paganism.

CARADOG THE SON OF BRÂN. One of the most direct obstacles to advance in ancient British history is the contradiction found to exist in the Triads and British Chronicles to the accounts in classic sources of the parentage of the eminent British chief Caradog, or otherwise Caractacus. Dion Cassius represents him as the offspring of Cunobeline; while the Chronicles do not place him among the sons of that monarch, whom they enumerate, or indeed name him at all; and the Triads style him the son of Brân. We have shown by a detailed comparison of the data furnished by the Chronicles and Triads themselves, that the interpretation put on them by modern writers is wholly unwarranted (see the *Britannic Researches*, p. 238, and the *Coins of Cunobeline*, p. 239), we will now then merely show the motives of the medieval writers for the ambiguity which they have thrown round the origin of Caractacus.

Brân implies king in the ancient British language; and Caradog, or Caractacus, the son of Brân, is no other than

"Caractacus, the king's son." It may be asked why this disguise? and why do we not have a more explicit account? We shall see.

Caractacus was probably so styled in the Triads, because the name of his father Cunobeline, *i.e.* "Apollo the king," (see *Britannic Researches*, p. 300), might seem unmeaning to the ecclesiastics of the tenth century, who are believed to have broken up the original standard history of their time into the form of Triads; and who might have been little acquainted with the former associations connected with ancient British names. Besides, were they ecclesiastics from foreign countries they may have been still more inclined to treat the subject in a summary manner, and altogether to remove this relic of paganism. We can prove the fact that Caractacus is the person styled the son of Brân in the Triads; but the above may be suggested as an explanation of the indirect way in which he is mentioned in these historical fragments, and it is more likely to be the real interpretation, as it is the only one that can be assigned. To avoid then a name of pagan import, they may have called Cunobeline merely Brân, or the king, and hence we should have, by a natural process, "Caradog, the son of Brân," or of the king, for his appellation by the Britons of the eleventh century.

CUNEDDA. This prince is said to have reigned at Carlisle. See Mr. Williams' *Gododin*, p. 2, note from Iolo Manuscripts.

REMARKS ON SOME SUPPOSED MEMORIALS OF ANCIENT PAGAN BRITAIN IN SURREY. It may be asserted, with some degree of confidence, that Druidical circles, and indeed cromlechs, and all objects of that class which were in combination with avenues and megalithic arrangements to any extent, were formerly embosomed in groves, woods, or forests; which has evidently been the idea entertained by Rowland and Stukeley. These sylvan additaments have certainly now nearly entirely disappeared, though here and there an ancient forest may have rocking stones or some kindred monument within its limits. From this cause modern ideas are rather against the supposition than otherwise, nor is it easy to decide the question. We may, however, mention here what may not impossibly have been a Druidical object of its class, though not megalithic;

and may cite the following account from Mr. Tupper's *Farley Heath*, 12mo, 1850, p. 69, where he informs us, that "on Merroe Downs, in Surrey, are two distinct concentric groves of venerable yews a thousand years old, with remnants of like avenues, possibly Druidical." We may subjoin, that if so, the number one thousand must of course be much dilated. In one respect we can confirm Mr. Tupper, that Merroe has every appearance of being of British derivation. *i.e.* Mawr rhôd, or the "great wheel," alluding to the idea which the position of the trees was likely to suggest.

THE DESCRIPTIO UTRISQUE BRITANNIÆ. The French Record Commission made a most strenuous attempt in the year 1834 to recover this, as also the *Prophecies of Quinlan* and the *Genealogies of the kings of Dumnonia*, by setting on foot the most persevering inquiries in England and on the continent. It appeared by these researches, that the *Descriptio Utriusque Britanniae* had not been seen by any one for one hundred and twenty-seven years from that time, nor was there any record of its having been met with in England at all; notwithstanding a foreign writer, M. Moreau de Martour, though undoubtedly by mistake, asserted that an edition of it had been printed in London.

In the *Bulletin du Bibliophile* for June 1846, pp. 801-808, are some memoranda of the researches of the French Record Commission in the business. An extract or two are given from the work; as some particulars about Morlaix (Morlæum) and the first preaching of Christianity there; also particulars relating to the city of Nantes (Nannetis oppidum), and a list of the principal authors who have referred to the work.

M. Francisque Michel it seems, on arriving in England on behalf of the French Record Commission, made researches at Cambridge, Oxford, Salisbury, Durham, and London, and also made inquiries of Douce and Dibdin, and others learned in the same way, but without any results; and came to the conclusion that the work was not to be found in this country. (See pp. 368-370 *ante*.)

THE FOURTEENTH ROMAN LEGION. A sepulchral inscription connected with this legion was discovered at Wroxeter, the ancient Uriconium, in the year 1752, and is still preserved there. It is engraved in the *Proceedings of*

the British Archæological Congress at Gloucester in 1846, p. 7, and reads thus: M. PETRONIUS . L. F. MEN . VIC ANN XXXVIII MIL LEG XIII GEMINA . MILITAVIT . ANN . XVIII . SIGN . FUIT . H . S . E. That is, "Marcus Petronius, son of Lucius of the tribe Menenia, who lived thirty-eight years, was a soldier of the Fourteenth Legion, Gemina, and was in military service eighteen years. He was a standard-bearer, and lies buried here."

The fourteenth legion having left this country as early as the reign of Nero, which was sixty years prior to the usually considered era of Roman inscriptions in this country, the finding one bearing its name may certainly be considered a great rarity. At Wroxeter, however, is also a sepulchral monument of Caius Mannius Secundus Pollentinus, a soldier of the twentieth legion, of the tribe called Pollia (see the same volume of *Proceedings*, p. 71); and it may be conjectured that the two inscriptions may not be of very dissimilar dates. The legion may, therefore, have returned for a short interval, and been stationed here temporarily, in the reign of Hadrian, Antoninus, or Severus, to take a part in some of the wars.

TERRITORIES OF THE NORTHERN BRITONS IN THE SIXTH CENTURY. A short summary of these may not be without utility; and it must be understood that we offer these data, not in the light of being, in every instance, minutely correct, but as the nearest attainable approximation.

Strathclyde Proper comprised within its limits, as far as can be ascertained, the present counties of Dunbarton, Renfrew, and Lanark, and the northern half of Ayrshire: and, as we conclude, the shire also of Peebles. *Edin*, or *Eiddin*, contained the counties of Linlithgow, Edinburgh, and Haddington. *Rheged* comprised the present county of Berwick. *Argoed* appears to have been identical with the shires of Selkirk and Roxburgh of modern days. *The Selgovæ* occupied the present Dumfriesshire. *The Novantes* occupied the district comprising the Mull of Galloway, etc., etc., which is now known as the county of Wigtown. *Gunedota* appears to have been Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire, or a great part of those counties. (See the map, p. 1.)

The Southern Picts are considered to have been located in the southern part of Ayrshire, and in the county of

Kirkcudbright: having Strathclyde and the Selgovæ to the north-east, and the Novantes to the south-west. *The Northern Picts* comprised all the rest of the ancient Caledonia to the north of Strathclyde and Eiddin.

The above seems the extent of what can be at present ascertained of the territorial position of the states of the Northern Britons, being compiled from Ptolemy and the poems of Taliesin, Lowarch-Hên, and Aneurin. Mr. George Vere Irving has made some valuable investigations on the subject; but our information is so limited that it is not practicable to carry out these statistical details so far as to remove all inconsistencies, real or apparent. For instance, the Novantes, detached in their situation in Wigtown and Galloway, had probably some territorial communications with the other Britons which we are not able to show. Again, from the words of Bede's history (lib. iii, c. iv), it would appear that the Southern Picts, located in their quarter, had wrested from them some part of their sea coast, where St. Ninian afterwards founded the bishopric of Witherne, which again is not found in any extant account. The situation of the Novantes, as deduced from Ptolemy, is indisputable.

The Otodini, a powerful race, from whom the poem of the Gododin takes its name, there is reason to suppose had always been subdivided, like the Belgæ of the South of Britain, into various states; which states we appear to be able to specify were those of Eiddin, Rheged, and Argoed, of which we have before spoken; besides, that the southernmost part of the territory of the Otodini, which lay beyond the Wall of Severus, had been long incorporated into the Saxon kingdom of Northumberland, or Bernicia, and had become altogether merged in it. The Otodini thus stand somewhat distinguished from the Selgovæ, the Novantes, and the state of Strathclyde, of which we do not find any trace that they were ever subdivided.

As to the character of the country occupied by these states, in reference to the nature of its surface, Strathclyde seems to have been partly mountainous and partly otherwise, while Eiddin, Rheged, and Argoed, were chiefly of a lowland description. The district of the Selgovæ and Novantes was mountainous, as also was the tract of land the Southern Picts had acquired between those two states.

Guenedota, comprising Cumberland, Westmorland, etc., was partially mountainous, as there is scarcely need to specify.

ANCIENT LONDON. We will briefly notice how this subject has been brought forward of late years. Allen's *London*, published in 1829, and Brayley's *Londiniana*, which appeared about the same time, were chiefly useful in drawing attention to the topic, as we may rather say, from the great uncertainty of some of their data; when Mr. C. Roach Smith's papers in the *Archæologia*, about twenty years since, afforded new and unexpected light and illustration. Two most interesting as well as learned dissertations followed in 1848, by Mr. Arthur Taylor, on the original site of this ancient city in the first and second centuries; as also Mr. Tite's paper, in the present year 1856, in the same publication, distinguished by much acumen and research. Mr. C. Roach Smith now proposes an extended work in the field of his early inquiries, which cannot fail to be highly useful, not only in collecting new and inedited materials, but also in showing us how much of the older accounts, as those of Allen, Brayley, etc., etc., we are to receive.

DEATH OF OSTORIUS. Traditions may be of two kinds: genuine, or invented; and we cannot say to which class that to which we now refer belongs. The Roman commander, Ostorius, died proprætor in Britain in the year 51; and those who visit Leicestershire will find a Roman camp at Guilsborough; and the common fame of the country is, that Ostorius died at another adjoining one called Osten Hills, as he was forming this camp. There are four or five other instances, in the Midland Counties, of places called Oyster Hills, and one in particular, near Verulam: all which are in some way or other connected by tradition with this ancient Roman chief.

FINIS.

ERRATA. For Tudvuleh, p. 33, l. 17, read Tudvulch. For him, p. 60, l. 40, read them. For Jaciunt, p. 172, l. 15, read jacent. For Gwron, p. 222, l. 12, read Gwion. For 1642, p. 237, l. 4, read 642. For Jovian, p. 297, l. 13, read Jovinian. For Silures, p. 310, l. 16, read Silures and Ordovices. For Boeching, p. 329, l. 19, read Boecking. For indential, p. 345, l. 6, read identical.

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